Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-90-116 *15 June 1990*

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Pact Defense Ministers Sign Final Protocol

LD1406163490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—The participants in the 25th committee session of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers signed a final protocol in Berlin today [14 June] following one day of deliberations. The text, according to the Ministry for Disarmament and Defense, is to be published tomorrow. Journalists, photographers and cameramen from East and West watched the ceremonial act.

Pact Communique Contents Revealed

LD1506114490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0926 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact postively assessed the results scored so far in the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe at their one-day meeting in Strausberg. The communique on the session, published this evening, adds that the unanimous view was expressed that "it is necessary to speed up these negotiations". Thanks to the growing trust between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, a real possibility is opening up of "gradually lending relations a nonconfrontational character and actively working for the development of all-European security structures."

At the same time, the defense ministers' committee noted that the speeding up and deepening of trends toward changes in NATO, as well as the practical implementation of decision to be made on altering the activity of NATO, would serve to achieve that aim as a confirmation of sincerity and goodwill. The Warsaw Pact states continue to be guided by their defense doctrine within their military policy.

The defense ministers meeting in Strausberg also stressed the importance of the Soviet-U.S. summit, and the agreements on reducing strategic offensive weapons and the elimination of chemical weapons.

At the meeting in Strausberg, "questions in connection with the reassessment of the activity of the military organization and its basic restructuring, the state, and directions of perfecting the Joint Armed Forces, while taking into consideration the shaping of a strictly defense character, its structure, and measures for reducing Armed Forces and conventional armaments, and the reduction of Soviet troops on the territory of allied countries" was addressed, the document states.

Eppelmann News Conference on Pact Meeting

LD1506085790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0758 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—At the 25th session of the Defense Ministers' Committee, the past mistakes of the Warsaw Pact were discussed for the first time. This was stated this morning by the GDR Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann to the international press after the end of the committee session. Eppelmann mentioned as an example the actions of the alliance in Hungary in 1956 and the then CSSR in 1968. Developments in the past few years have changed the situation in Europe in such a way that relics from the division of the continent must be overcome, he said. These are the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The conference participants agreed that a European security system is needed, a bloc-free Europe. The Americans should have a place in it just as much as the French, the Germans, the Poles, and the USSR. It is inconceivable that there could be a Europe in which the Soviet Union "is left outside."

Eppelmann went on to say that the meeting had been dominated by the latest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow. They had striven in Strausberg to "dynamically implement" what had been decided there "in our areas." If developments in European security policy demanded it, then a regular meeting of the Committee would be held in the forseeable future to be "up-to-date."

The journalists' questions were also answered by the defense ministers of Poland, Army General Florian Siwicki, and the CSFR, Army General Miroslav Vacek, and the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, Army General Petr Lushev.

Eppelmann on Overcoming Bloc Division of Europe

LD1406090290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—From the GDR's point of view, the preconditions have developed for overcoming the existing bloc-political security systems and thus the devision of the continent. This was stated by GDR Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann in Strausberg near Berlin today [14 June] at the opening of a regular session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee. This development is in line with the peoples' interests in living in mutual harmony, without artificial barriers and ideological enmity. In this spirit it is important to examine the confrontative elements contained in the Warsaw Pact documents of recent years and which are no longer in accordance with the spirit of the age.

The successful conclusion of the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces also crucially depends on the joint work within the alliance, so that relevant agreements can be signed at the meeting of leading representatives of the CSCE member states at the end of 1990.

During the two-day meeting, the ministers will be discussing the prospects for restructuring the military alliance and questions relating to the development of troops and fleets. Romanian Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu who flew back during the night because of the political events in his country, is represented by his deputy, Colonel General Gheorghe Logofatu.

Eppelmann, Yazov Cited on Pact's Future

LD1406161190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—"All of us agreed on the opinion that the Warsaw Pact as it is on paper today has to be changed." GDR Defense and Disarmament Minister Rainer Eppelmann made clear his position with these words on the future of the Warsaw Pact during a photo call after the session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee. The meeting had "been very open and in a spirit of partnership." It was the logical continuation of what the Political Consultative Committee had discussed and resolved in Moscow.

Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Dimitriy Yazov believed that the commission set up by the Political Consultative Committee would deal with the future of the Defense Ministers Committee. He replied to the question of whether the GDR would remain in the Warsaw Pact in the future. "We had other issues to discuss here." The committee had presented its opinion on this. The position in principle of the participants in the meeting was that the blocs should be removed and a bloc-free, collective European security system created.

Lushev on 'Different Perceptions' of Pact Future

LD1506094490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—In the view of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, Army General Petr Lushev, different perceptions on the future and the further development of the character and function of the Warsaw Pact prevailed at the committee session. As long as the alliance functions, the Warsaw Pact must also exist, he said, and the member states must "meet their alliance obligations." The participants at the meeting unanimously put forward the view that they must "seek new paths and forms for the organization's transition to a political one." They also wanted to actively participate in the commission of government representatives, agreed in Moscow, to address the future of the Warsaw Pact.

Lushev reported that the participants also expressed a desire that NATO examine its function in response to the activities of the Warsaw Pact. The importance of the Gorbachev-Bush summit was underscored by the meeting's participants in Strausberg, especially with regard to the overall political situation in the world and to the continuation of the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments. The defense ministers also expressed their expectation that the Vienna negotiations "will come to a successful conclusion" this year. In general, the 25th session was a positive factor for European security and an improvement of the situation.

Hungary's Fur Confirms Intent To Leave Pact

LD1306154990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] A delegation, led by the Hungarian defense minister, left for Berlin for the next session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee.

Before departure, Lajos Fur said that they will carry out talks in Berlin in the spirit of the results achieved at the session of the Political Consultative Committee last week in Moscow. Lajos Fur confirmed that our country wants to leave the military alliance by all means by the end of next year.

At the Berlin consultation, they hope to achieve an end to the restrictive measures will influence the independence of the Hungarian Army.

Joint Proposal for 'European Security Commission'

LD1206163590 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 12 (CTK)—A joint proposal of Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland to institutionalize the Helsinki process was distributed by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today through diplomatic channels among the participants in the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

The move is based on the Czechoslovak proposal to form a European Security Commission, the Polish initiative to create a Council for European Cooperation, and similar East German moves.

At the same time, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, in a letter sent to his European and North American counterparts, proposes to place the headquarters of the planned "Council for European Security and Cooperation" in Prague.

Bush-Gorbachev Summit, Balance of Power Viewed

AU1506051890 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jun 90 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "The Bush-Gorbachev Meeting: In Search of New Equilibria"]

[Text] Compared with earlier Soviet-U.S. summits, the meeting between U.S. President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev that ended in Washington on Sunday [10 June] was conducted in a special situation. This situation involves first of all the major changes that have taken place in East Europe, and, as a result, in Europe as a whole. These changes have given the political map a new appearance and have introduced new and important problems, which must be confronted. The events in the East upset the existing equilibrium and produced a lot of riddles. As was said at the 10th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum, "The United States and the Soviet Union are trying to turn the course of events to their favor, each bearing in mind their own interests. But now it has become difficult even for them to 'put the genie back in the bottle.'" As the two largest leading powers of the two largest military groupings, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the United States and the Soviet Union are attempting under new conditions to search for and find alternatives to them, which they cannot assemble now by themselves.

The meeting between the two presidents off Malta in December last year was the first attempt to search for new equilibria on our continent and to achieve a rapport on European problems. At a news conference held in Washington on 3 June, Mikhail Gorbachev stated that "the Malta meeting gave fresh dynamism to the process by which difficulties are being overcome and new relations are being established between the Soviet Union and the United States." Europe also dominated the present Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, at a time when there have been plenty of events and other developments since Malta. The discussion of the problems of Europe extended beyond the scope of the discussion of one particular problem, such as the Vienna conventional arms reduction talks, or the German and Baltic questions. European problems were seen at Washington in the large perspective of a future strategy of development for our continent, examining what shape and structure the Europe of the future will assume in the light of all the changes which have taken place and are still occurring. Various commentators linked the Soviet-U.S. talks with the problem of the equilibrium or basic functional axis of our continent 45 years after the end of World War II.

One of the Soviet president's close advisers, the academician G. Arbatov, considered the Washington meeting not only the first after the end of the cold war, but as "the perfecting of the new political philosophy that was born in Malta, which tackled the problem of the construction of a new order, and not simply that of how the old one would die." From what has been reported so far, the "broad discussions on the changes and events in Europe," which Bush mentioned at his 3 June news conference, still do not offer all the components for a clear picture of the U.S. or Soviet idea of how to move from the old equilibria to new ones. What the two sides have shown in recent days is the importance they give to defining these new equilibria in Europe. Soviet President Gorbachev compared the meeting and his talks with the U.S. President with the great antifascist alliance in which the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other World War II allies joined against Nazi Germany.

Of course, the hope is that the search for new equilibria will correct many shortcomings and defects of the old equilibria. The creation of various blocs and alliances after the end of World War II increased rivalries and conflicts in all the four corners of the world, and it was proved in Europe, as in many other regions, that security cannot be achieved with the mentalities of enclosed blocs. The arms race of the military blocs or of various powers proved the same. At the present talks in Washington, efforts were evident on both sides to regulate balances of power, involving a traditionally central problem of Soviet-U.S. treaty-making, that of arms control. In this field, the Washington meeting resulted in the signing of a series of agreements such as that leading to a reduction of long-range nuclear arsenals by 30 percent and to the reduction of chemical weapons by 80 percent. It was announced that a treaty for the reduction of strategic arsenals may be signed before the end of the year, and the two presidents issued a joint declaration laying down a number of elements in this treaty. The signing and especially the implementation of this agreement is a welcome step that demands to be followed by others, so that the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament can assume larger dimensions and move faster.

It is evident from the talks that have taken place in Washington that the two sides laid stress on an equilibrium of interests between them. Secretary of State Baker announced during these days in Washington that "Soviet-U.S. relations rest on a sound basis of an equilibrium of interests." As Gorbachev said at the news conference, this equilibrium of interests includes "all the world's problems." Besides Europe, they discussed the Middle East, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Cuba, Central America, and so forth. Under today's conditions, this equilibrium of interests is not and cannot be exclusively bilateral. The fact that over many problems and regions the two leaders referred to much wider forums, such as the CSCE where Europe is concerned, or as in Gorbachev's mention of the interests of other European countries in the issue of a united Germany, indicates that the weight of the voice and views of the international community in major issues of world politics is growing.

Under the conditions of events in Europe and the dynamically developing awareness of the peoples regarding their identity and sovereignty, the problem of responsibility in international relations assumes a new emphasis. Gorbachev and Bush touched on the problem of the responsibilities of the United States and the Soviet

Union, and the Soviet president asked that "the role of the two powers at this time should be understood." Under the new conditions, these responsibilities cannot be understood without an interdependence which involves obligations for more stable international relations and greater cooperation, from which everybody will benefit and feel more secure. This is the desire of international public opinion for events and developments at large, including the recent Soviet-U.S. summit. At his meeting with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, "We think that the great powers' responsibility for maintaining general peace and security, which is also recognized by the UN Charter, is a great duty for them, which must be accompanied by the democratization of international relations and the establishment of full equality among different countries." This kind of responsibility requires new, just, and peace-bringing equilibria, which should not only take into consideration the interests of all countries, but cannot be achieved in the way they once were, without the participation of all concerned.

Kapllani Talks With French Officials in Paris

AU1406140990 Tirana ATA in English 0825 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 13 (ATA)—On June 12, the deputy foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, conducted talks in Paris with the general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, Francois Cher, and with the director for Europe, Jacques Blott.

During these talks, he widely exchanged opinions on the recent developments in Europe and in particular on the process of the European security and cooperation whose activities in Copenhagen are being attended by our country as an observer. The French party pointed out that Albania which has its place in Europe, may render its contribution to this process.

Likewise, they talked on the course of the process of the Balkan cooperation and its contribution to the benefit of peace in the Balkans, Europe, and the Mediterranean.

Opinions were also exchanged on the relations between Albania and France. Both parties were confident that there are possibilities to give these relations a further impetus and carry them forward.

Meets FRG Officials in Bonn

AU1406141090 Tirana ATA in English 0803 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, went to Bonn. On June 13 he met and conducted talks with the secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the FR [Federal Republic] of Germany, Dr. Jurgen Sudof as well as with other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation.

In these meetings they spoke of the new developments in Europe, and about the process of European Security and Cooperation. The German party briefed him on the concrete steps undertaken for the unification of Germany.

Likewise, opinions were exchanged on the further development of the friendly relations and of cooperation between Albania and the FR of Germany.

Attending the talks were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Tirana UNESCO Conference Continues

AU0806104790 Tirana ATA in English 0811 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 7 (ATA) The 14th Conference of the National Commissions of the Balkan Countries for UNESCO continued its proceedings on June 7 morning.

The participants disscussed and aired their views on the other topics on the agenda. Speaking on the activity of the commissions for the period between the two conferences, regarding the course of work for the world decade of cultural development, the representatives of the commissions laid the stress on the forms and ways that might be followed in promoting cultural cooperation and opinions were expressed to broaden of multilateral cultural exchanges on balkan level.

It was proposed that in the period betwen the two conferences meetings be organised on problems of being acquainted with and enriching the balkanological funds of the national libraries, of organising the summer courses of learning the balkan languages by translators and working people of scientific institutions studying the language, history and culture of the balkan countries, of organising Balkan film festivals, of creating an information bureau on the respective fields of unesco etc.

The representatives of the Balkan countries presented reports which reflected in detail the activity of the commissions in the context of the international year of literacy in implementing the adopted decisions and recommendations approved during the multilateral consultations of experts to study and review the school texts of the Balkan countries. Likewise UNESCO's National Commissions for the Balkans expressed their readiness to put into life all the decisions they will adopt together in this conference.

The conference will continue its proceedings Saturday morning.

'Suspicion' of Modern World Literature Attacked

AU1206115390 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 3 Jun 90 p 11

[Piro Misha article: "More Publications From Contemporary World Literature"]

[Excerpts] The last issue of DRITA published the questionnaire, "The Number of Publications Does Not Match Society's Spiritual Growth." In this article, we go on to examine only one of the problems.

There has been a noticeable improvement in recent years in translations from world literature. [passage omitted]

However, a stubborn fact remains. Despite improvements, the number of translations from the most distinguished living authors of world literature can still be counted on one's fingers. There is no sense in continuing to deceive ourselves about this by including as contemporary authors those who died 50 or 60 years ago, if not more. The warm reception given by the mass of readers to such authors of today as Marquez, I. Allende, and so forth, once again shows to be unjustified the hesitation of those who think that our readers are still not ready to tackle today's leading writers, who are often complex and contradictory, just as, in the final analysis, the world itself is today.

The reasons for this absence of publications from modern world literature are complex. The most important thing is to recognize and understand them, because if they no longer all exist, their consequences often continue to be felt. Among them is the attitude of disparagement, quite alien to every tradition in our culture, which gradually and imperceptibly took root, and which considers foreign literature as something secondary, or at the most supplementary, and which in any case must be regarded with a large degree of reservation. One symptom of this attitude has been the repeated reductions in the fees paid for literary translations. Moreover, literary translations increasingly began to be seen as supplementing specific propaganda, and the general, vitally important role played by good literature in the hands of the people, on the basis of genuine national criteria and interests, was neglected. It is a fact that the source of these attitudes must not infrequently be sought in the incompetence of certain people who attempted to justify their inability to follow literary developments by spreading suspicion of everything new. This gave rise to that extensive range of schematic judgments, labels, and obstacles, which mostly did not stem from knowledge and dialectical judgment, but from the prejudice and the tendency to keep in line. The same logic led to the publication of masterpieces of world literature very rarely meeting any response in the press. More reviews and critical articles are written about books which everybody will have forgotten in about two years' time than about translations we have published in several tens of thousands of copies and are read by at least three to four times as many readers! To convince yourself of the persistence of this negative view of foreign literature in general, and that of today in particular, it is enough to look at a text produced only a few months ago by the University (Faculty of Language and Literature), entitled "On Contemporary Literature." It includes articles by virtually all the staff who teach foreign literature there, some of whom are well known for their contribution to the field. A quick glance is enough to show that a single aim dominates the book: that of identifying writers and literary currents and trends in our century, especially its second half, in order to criticize them. It seems that this century of ours has very little to offer us! In order to find anything positive, one has to go back to the last century, to the twenties and thirties, to authors somewhere on the margin of literature that very few people know, or as far away as Africa. Otherwise, one has to wait until someone else publishes an author (in other words, until someone else "takes the risk"), when stringent criticism turns to praise. In this way, we indiscriminately attach labels, often to some of the most distinguished names in our century's culture, and we forget that before anything else we must be dialectical, and must judge only on the basis of knowledge and discussion. [passage omitted]

CEC Announces Multimandate Election Results

AU1406133590

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1200 GMT on 14 June begins a live relay of a news conference from the People's Place of Culture in Sofia, at which the results of the multimandate constituencies of the Grand National Assembly elections will be announced. "Prof. Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Election Commission [CEC]; Ivan Evtimov and Zhivko Zhivkov, deputy chairmen of the commission; and Dimitur Popov, secretary of the commission" are taking part in the news conference, reporter Aglaya Shamlieva says.

At the beginning of the news conference, Prof. Stalev assesses the elections as a "supreme demonstration of democracy." He describes the difficulties in the work of the CEC and states that the results are honest.

After reporting that 6,334,415 out of 6,976,620 registered voters have voted, Prof. Stalev announces the following results:

"The separate parties and coalitions have received the following number of votes:

PARTY	VOTES	PERCENT
Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]	491,500	8.300
Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]	2,216,127	36.200
Liberal Party—Pernik City	15,023	0.025
Union of Thracian Cultural-Educational Associations	no votes	0.000
Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]	2,886,363	47.150
Alternative Socialist Party	22,037	0.360
Christian-Republican Party	3,524	0.060
United People's Union	334	0.001
Union of Democratic Parties and Movement (ERA-3)	4,511	0.070
Political Opposition Bloc-Center	6,043	0.100
Movement of Non-Party Members For Democracy	8,195	0.130
National Patriotic Union	319	0.001
Bulgarian National Radical Party	3,819	0.060
Union of Nonparty Members	9,978	0.160
Union of Nonparty Guarantors	1,929	0.030
Union of Disabled	10,463	0.170
Alternative Socialist Association (ASO)	16,014	0.260
Movement For Rights and Freedoms	368,929	6.030
Free Democratic Party	686	0.010
Social-Democratic (Non-Marxist) Party	3,036	0.050
Fatherland Labor Party	36,668	0.600
Bulgarian National Democratic Party	4,723	0.080
People's Liberal Stefan Stambolov Party	no votes	0.000
Labor People's Party	no votes	0.000
Parliamentarian movement For Turnovo Constitution	8,338	0.140
Bulgarian Revolutionary Youth Party	640	0.010
Organization of the People With Hearth Diseases and Disabled People	287	0.010

Later, Stalev reads the following distribution of seats in the National Assembly:

"One hundred-nineteen candidates have been elected in the first round of the single-mandate constituencies. Seventy-five of them belong to the BSP; 32 to the SDS; nine from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms; one of the Fatherland Union; one of the Social Democratic (Non-Marxist Party); and one from Independent." "As far as the multimandate cobnstituencies are considered, the results are as follows: "BSP—97 seats; SDS—75 seats; BZNS—16 seats; and Movement for Rights and Freedoms—12 seats. "The combined results of both kinds of constituencies are as follows: "BSP—172; SDS—107; BZNS—16; and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms—21."

Further on Stalev points out that those are not final results, because only after the completion of the second round of the election the final picture will emerge.

Stalev states that the CEC has been unable to consider all the complaints against election violations before announcing the election results, which would have caused great delays. He states that the results of the CEC's investigations will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for examination and decision.

In conclusion, he wishes success to the Grand National Assembly, and expresses the CEC's gratitude to all the local and district election commissions and others involved in processing the elections results. He ends his address at 1226 GMT.

The chairman thanks Prof. Zhivko Stalev, and gives the floor to an unidentified speaker, who thanks the CEC for its work on behalf of the journalists.

An unidentified questioner asks Stalev to comment on delays in receiving a voting protocol from a district election commission in Sofia. Stalev explains in detail how a new voting protocol was prepared.

At 1231 GMT Petur Gogov, a minor party leader, asks what happened after his party left the Political Opposition Bloc (POB). Stalev expalins that the CEC immediately removed the party's candidates from the list of POB candidates.

At 1233 GMT a British journalist asks Stalev how the Social Democratic Party—Non-Marxists received so few votes. Stalev explains that the party was not so widely represented in the multimandate constituencies, so received fewer votes than in the single-mandate elections.

At 1235 GMT a journalist Mishev asks how the validity of a voting protocol is established. Stalev explains the procedure for establishing validity.

The journalists continue to put various detailed questions to Stalev and his colleagues regarding the elections, the processing of the results, and alleged violations in individual constituencies. In answer to a question concerning the delay in processing the multimandate election results, Stalev explains that many voting protocols were received with great delay from the district electoral commissions. He later repeats that the CEC's reports on election violations will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for examination and decision. At 1257 GMT Stalev states that such infringements as the theft of ballots are subject to criminal prosecution.

Further on Stalev again describes the difficulties in the work of the CEC and the great delay in receiving the protocols from the polling stations. He charges that the delay in receiving those protocols is responsibile for the general delay in reporting the election results.

A reporter from Kuwait asks Stalev whether he is disappointed with the attitude of the opposition toward the work of the commission. Stalev expresses "bitterness" with the "repeated accusation" that the "commission has delayed the publication of the results." He points out the "complex character of the election system," and stresses that under the circumstances it was impossible to publish the results earlier.

At 1305 GMT Dimitur Popov, secretary of the CEC, takes the floor, and describes the difficulties of the commission. "Why should Prof. Stalev be considered guilty of anything?" he exclaims.

At 1308 GMT a KOOPERATIVNO SELO reporter asks whether the names of the candidates elected on the basis of the multimandate system are known already. Stalev refuses to disclose the names. He says that the results of the second round must be awaited, because candidates, who participated in the majority system are also participating in the multimandate election system, therefore, as long as the names of all single-mandate constituencies' candidates are not known, the names of the multimandate constituencies will not be published.

At 1311 GMT another reporter asks when the results of the second round will be published. Stalev reports that the results of the second round will be published "faster than the results of the first round," and expects "to publish the results on the second day after the elections." Nevertheless, he points out that the publication "does not depend only on the commission," and again invokes the delay in sending the protocols to the commission.

At 1313 GMT another reporter takes the floor and describes the CEC as "victims of two factors." The first is the "decision of the roundtable to impose the complicated mixed election system." The second factor—the insufficient time for preparing the elections. Stalev answers that "if he had the choice, he would have selected the simple proportional system."

At 1317 GMT reporter Khristo Popov asks whether there is a difference between a party which has received no votes and a party that has withdrawn from elections. Stalev explains the difference, stating that the votes cast for the first kind of party are valid, while the second—invalid.

At 1319 GMT a reporter asks Dimitur Popov whether the commission could verify whether the protocols it received had been changed or tampered with. Popov answers that the commission did its best to ascertain the honesty of the protocols. Nevertheless, he adds, that all complaints will be thoroughly checked.

At 1326 GMT another reporter asks what penalties will be imposed when the commission established violations. Prof. Stalev says that the Penalty Code has specific articles which deal with "election deception," and specifies the relevant penalty.

At 1330 GMT the news conference ends.

Commentary Analyzes Results

AU1406133890 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA commentary by Panayot Denev)—The first democratic elections in Bulgaria in 44 years are the first encouraging step forward to democracy which is now much more important for the country, suffering a profound crisis than the concrete results are.

The results themselves (4/5 of which are known) are serving as a lesson to both the winners and the losers as they prove that everybody in Bulgaria should change now.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], an heir of the discredited and guilty of so many sins Communist Party of a Stalinist type, will perhaps win most of the seats in the Grand National Assembly after the second round on June 17, but if it has a superiority, however it will only be slim, which will strip it of the possibility to rule irresponsibly, self-confidently and unpunished, as it had been a custom over the last decades. This is best understood by the leaders-reformers who lost or remained to compete for the second round. People backed their party but distanced themselves from them as they obviously relate them with the grave heritage of Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime under whose wing they participated in the rule.

Reformers in the BSP whose eyes are widely open to Europe and the world are well aware that their party got the votes of the prevailing elderly population and of the uneducated population in the backward provinces, which for years on end lived in isolation and information vacuum. The majority of the educated and younger people from Sofia as well as from all of the large cities cast their votes for the opposition. In its efforts for reforms in future the party cannot but comply with that, all the more that the old ruling apparatus throughout the country is untouched and it could burden seriously the planned reforms in which there are no

differences in the BSP and SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] pre-election campaigns. To be able to combat the conservatism of this party the BSP leadership needs allies and it is likelier to find them in the ranks of the opposition than in its own ranks.

It is now difficult to make forecasts about how many of the BSP M.P.'s are radicals and whether this number is a constant, anyway. Quite a few of the observers forecast splitting of this party in the recent months. It is then possible, if there is a split in the opposition, too (which is only normal), that a powerful left in the parliament be formed with social-democratic orientation of a Western type which could turn into a main motor of changes.

The Union of Democratic Forces, which unites 16 parties and organizations, managed to become a united centre of the democratic opposition right after the first round of the elections. The places in parliament, no matter how many they are, will enable the opposition have a real control over power. This week there are numerous declarations which state that no political party will accept a coalition in the BSP government. This does not mean that parliament will not be able to adopt the important resolutions which the country now needs so badly, especially in the sphere of the economy, with some or other difficulties. There is simply no other way out for the country and thus, the election propaganda of all political forces which has some degree of demagogiery, will inevitably be given up.

The SDS is also perhaps aware that it is not well familiar with the people's psychological motives in the provinces and could in future change things only by active and constructive political action.

The greatest enigma now is the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (the ethnic Turks' organization), which will have at least 20 M.P.'s. As a representative of the population which suffered most from the outrages of communist power in the last years it is quite unlikely that it will back the BSP. But its leaders, however, are in a profound conflict with the opposition leaders, too. Grave social and economic problems of the Muslim population will perhaps make leader Medi Dogan and his colleagues take a side according to specific issues, which the Grand National Assembly will consider. And yet it is indicative that on the eve of elections Medi Dogan called on his adherents to cast their votes for the SDS in the districts where there were no candidates of the movement.

If there was someone who really lost in these elections it was the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]. But this conclusion, however, has also its conventionalities. The loss of the official BZNS leaders is a consequence of this party's long years discrediting as a subordinate satellite of the Communists with only formal participation in power. The BZNS is now forced by the circumstances to call on its supporters to cast their votes in the second round for the SDS candidates. And most numerous in the opposition coalition is the other agrarian party, the BZNS "Nikola Petkov." Thus the loss of the one and the growing popularity of the other becomes a groundwork for the uniting and setting up, perhaps quite soon, of another comparatively strong party with a centrist orientation in parliament. It should be kept in mind that, though with thousands of desolate villages, Bulgaria is still a country in which most of the people are of peasant origin and under the new conditions of democracy and pluralism of ownership the traditional love and concern about the land will perhaps be reborn in them.

After the elections Bulgaria is reviving for democracy. The Grand National Assembly will show whether it will be a truly efficiently working body right on its first session: It should promptly work out a draft for a new Constitution. This needs sensible and professional politicians who are ready for compromises and concessions. Whether the 400 M.P's, the majority of which will enter parliament for the first time, are the people we need will become clear in a month.

Council of Europe Group: Vote 'Free,' 'Fair'

AU1406175890 Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA)—The special commission of the Council of Europe set up by the Parliamentary Assembly for the purpose of monitoring the elections in Bulgaria is of the opinion that the Bulgarians really availed themselves of the opportunity for participating in free and fair elections.

In a declaration of the parliamentary observers from Spain, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Cyprus and Greece who were included in the mission it is said that the elections were held in a perfectly normal way, that most parties had their representatives in the local electoral commissions (the opposition had a majority) and that the commissions worked in a remarkable atmosphere of calmness and friendship.

The incidents reported to the observers were studied and proved to be unimportant or groundless. Competent measures were taken by the responsible authorities, sometimes after consultations with the teams of observers, whose presence was assessed as useful, it is said in the declaration.

The parliamentary observers explain that during the elections four teams visited more than 60 polling stations in 12 constituencies, including in the areas inhabited by the Turkish-speaking population in Kurdzhali region. No attempt was made to influence the observers when choosing which regions to visit.

It is clear, it is said in the declaration, that the Bulgarian Socialist Party, being a ruling party, was in a more advantageous position and it had at its disposal a definite number of means for exerting influence officially. But all political forces admitted that measures were taken to ensure the holding of free and fair elections.

Situation Reported 'Calm' Throughout Nation

AU1406200990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] [passage indistinct] Regardless of the different degrees of satisfaction, or dissatisfaction with the officially election results, no incidences of disruption of public order have been observed in the country today.

Shumen citizens listened with great interest to the live relay from the International Press Center of the results of the first round of elections for the Grand National Assembly.

Work was interrupted for a few minutes in some enterprises, but there were no incidences of public order being disturbed in the town. All enterprises are functioning normally and examinations and lectures are proceeding normally at the Higher Pedagogical Institute.

The situation in Varna is also calm in these later hours of the evening. No blocking of traffic in the streets has been observed. No disruptions of public order whatsoever have been observed.

The report on the final results of the first election round and the evaluation of the Central Electoral Commission were calmly received by the Khaskovo population.

The situation in Gabrovo is also calm and peaceful.

The situation in Ruse has calmed down. A 24-hour silent vigil, however, continues in front of the Municipal People's Council Building with the participation of a dozen Union of Democratic Forces supporters.

The situation in the Angel Kunchev Higher Technical School is peaceful. The examinations and lectures are proceeding normally.

Following the official announcement of the first round of the Grand National Assembly elections, the situation in Turgovishte, Popovo, Omurtag, [name of town indistinct], and Antonovo continues to be calm. Work in the enterprises is proceeding normally, public transport between the settlement and the foodstuff suppliers are also proceeding at the normal pace. The citizens of Turgovishte are fully prepared for the second round of the elections.

Veliko Turnovo 'Calm' Despite Sit-In

AU1406203790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Despite appeals from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to put an end to these acts of civil disobedience, the sit-in in the carriageway in front of the municipal People's Council building in Veliko Turnovo continues.

Claiming that manipulations were committed in the elections, and that the elections should therefore be declared void, the participants in this action declared today that they will continue to strike until 2400 on Thursday [14 June], which is the legal deadline for ending all campaign activity.

The students of the St. Kiril and Metodi Veliko Turnovo University are also continuing their actual strike, in support of the demands of their colleagues at Sofia University.

After the publication of the final results of the first round of elections, and following the cessation of the protest actions throughout the town, the situation is now calm.

'No Disruptions'; 'Silent Vigils' Continue

AU1506094290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] No disruptions of public order have been observed in Tolbukhin. No second round of elections is scheduled for Tolbukhin, as a result of which, along with the subject of the elections, the people's attention is focusing on the upcoming harvest.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in Tolbukhin, however, is pursuing its silent vigils every night as of 2100, as our correspondent Yoncho Karamfilov reports.

The situation in Smolyan is also calm, no interruption of the normal work has been observed in the local enterprises, and the examination session in the local teachers' college is proceeding normally, as reported by correspondent Georgi Radev.

BSP's Lilov Comments on Elections, Future

AU1406164990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1503 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Statement by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party at news conference held in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 14 June—live or recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen. Before answering your questions I will comment briefly on the first round of elections.

According to the leadership of our party, which I represent here, certain things so far are indisputable. First, there is no doubt that the elections are the most important political event in Bulgaria this year, nor is there any doubt that the very successful conducting of the first free elections for many years represents a big, and I would like to add, very great political achievement for Bulgaria. I consider that this is a (?sign) of democracy in Bulgaria.

There is no doubt that the elections were conducted in conditions of real pluralism. Some 42 parties took part in the elections, all parties submitted their platforms and their messages to the will of the electorate, and conducted their election campaigns in conditions of calm, in a peaceful atmosphere of democracy and order. There were no terrorist political acts. There was no political violence. Great political activity was observed by the population, as well as by the parties in their election campaign activities. I consider that the great political activity of both the parties and the people is one of the chief features of the elections which were held on 10

June. This is very encouraging, and many important conclusions might be drawn from this factor.

In my view, one very important conclusion is that the Bulgarian people have realized democracy. This was the conclusion which our party made. The elections were held in [words indistinct] way, in a democratic atmosphere, and this is a serious attestation to the fact that Bulgaria wants democracy and that Bulgaria is advancing on the road to democracy.

Of course, certain violations were committed at individual polling stations. The chairman and secretary of the Central Electoral Commission informed us of this a short time ago. There are many tip-offs and statements of violations on the part of our party and of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Our opinion concerning these statements and the permitted violations is as follows: We believe that all of them must be responsibly and precisely checked by the Central Electoral Commission, which is the only competent organ for this work. Those polling sections in which there were breaches of the law must, of course, make corrections for these violations and, if this is not possible, new elections must be held, following an exceptionally accurate and objective examination. I would like to stress that our party has complete political confidence in the Central Electoral Commission as regards its statements and assessments, and complete confidence in the work of the leadership of this commission so far. The work of the commission's leadership is distinguished by a high standard of civic morality, by high professionalism, and by strict observance of the law. We give a very high assessment to these qualities and wish the commission to be aware of our recognition of them.

The tension that developed in Sofia following election day, or rather the disturbance of the peace in our capital, in our opinion is not a result of violations, great violations, on election day itself, but is the result of the opposition's attitude to the election results. In our opinion, the election results are the chief reason for the breaches of public order which occurred after the elections. Our party, as you know, had stated in a declaration that we would accept the decision of the people, whatever it might be. Such declarations, as you remember very well, were also made by all the other political parties; however, declarations are one thing, and reality is another, and we think that what is needed now is a political majority, what is needed is calm and self-control, in order not to prevent decisions being adopted on behalf of the people of the kind that were adopted previously. National responsibility is needed on the part of all parties; respect is needed toward the people's decision, and it is necessary to restore order and peace in the capital.

The last question I will deal with before I give you an opportunity to ask your questions relates to how our party assesses, or rather explains, the election success of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], because there is no doubt it is a great election success under the single-mandate electoral system, which has not yet been completed, and a great election victory for our party under the multi-mandate electoral system.

First, I would like to say that this was not a surprise for our party and its leadership, that in our view this was not a fact of chance, not an inexplicable fact. It relates to a solidly motivated success of the BSP, and anyone who attributes emotional or other explanations to this well-motivated fact will be making a mistake.

What are the chief reasons for our party's election success? I will list them as follows.

In the first place I set the renewal of the party itself. The BSP is in a process of qualitative changes. The people appreciate the seriousness, scale, and correctness of these changes, and have given the party their vote of confidence. Another thing would be the deep (?roots) which our party has among the people, but I characterize the renewal of the party as the main reason for the election victory.

We have started an in-depth ideological, radical ideological-revolutionary, and political renewal, and we will carry this renewal through to the end. The election results provide a major stimulus for this renewal. It may be expected that following the elections the process of renewal will also continue with even greater force. We will continue fighting for democracy, regardless of the results of the elections; the people know this, and support this orientation of our party.

The second reason is that we proposed to the people a realistic, well-thought-out election platform which protects the social interests of working people. Our platform was drawn up in a competent, professional, responsible, and honest manner.

The third reason I see in our party's actual list of candidates, which was composed of honorable, educated, professionally trained, competent, and experienced leaders.

The last reason, which I would point out as very important for the BSP election success, is that we succeeded in conducting a calm, anticonfrontational, democratic, and tolerant campaign, which was responsible from political and civic viewpoints. I see the character of the party's election campaign which is tolerant toward the other parties and democratic in spirit, as a very important reason, showing that the party is one in which people can have trust. Our slogans were slogans of dialogue, of national consensus; we did not denounce the other parties, and we were not aggressive. We sought solutions to Bulgaria's problems, instead of purely party interests. Our key words, as you know, were civic peace and stability, change, a peaceful transition to democracy, and equal rights.

The last issue which I would like to offer for your attention, in conclusion, is that the attitude of our party which won the elections is one of great respect toward the other parties who fought against us. We have great respect toward the electors who gave their votes to the other parties, and toward the parties themselves. We continue to respect the parties which failed to win votes at the elections. We consider that democracy in Bulgaria at present has need of all political forces which truly fight

for democracy. We regard the the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the other parties as political competitors, political opponents in the elections, but at the same time, we see the SDS and the other parties as political partners, I repeat, political partners in the construction of a democratic Bulgaria. We will not change our policy of dialogue following the elections. We seek, and continue to seek a policy of accord, of national accord, because this is our principled position. We extend our hand to the SDS, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and all the other political parties, large and small, and believe that Bulgaria's young democracy has need of the forces of all parties.

Let us not overheat passions now, let us not exacerbate Bulgaria's political life. I make a special appeal that we should not draw the young people of our country into an exacerbation of the political struggle at the moment. It is a very grave responsibility when certain parties do this, because this may cost our people dearly.

The BSP will take part in the second round with a sense of its heavy political responsibility and readiness to cooperate with all who sincerely trying to strive towards democracy.

I would like to express thanks on behalf of our party to all the foreign observers, all journalists, and visitors who objectively, honestly, and with goodwill helped us hold the first round of elections. I would also like to ask the Bulgarian journalists to convey our message to the Bulgarian voter—I mean, of course, those who would like to do this—that the BSP calls upon them to vote in the second round as well for peace, for security, and for radical democratic reforms. And we believe that our voters, our population, should not submit to the syndrome of fear, that they must vote according to their conscience, to vote for democracy in Bulgaria, and for a peaceful transition to democracy.

Thank you for your attention.

Further on Lilov Comments

AU1406151390

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 14 June begins a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of a news conference held by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Following an introductory statment, Lilov begins answering question at 1416 GMT when an Egyptian journalist asks about his expectations for the second round of elections, and what will the BSP do if the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] refuses to form a coalition with the BSP. Lilov expresses confidence in the ths BSP's success in the second round, and refers the second question to Zhelev, who should answer it.

A BBC reporter asks Lilov whether he is afraid of instability in the country, and whether the BSP will not attract Western assistance without a coalition with the SDS. Lilov expresses concern with the unity of the people, and says that the West will not be interested "in the colors of the political flags," but rather in the cooperation possibilities. A Danish journalist asks what means will be used to establish calm in Sofia. Lilov asserts that "only peaceful means" will be used. A Bulgarian journalists asks about the "information blackout, or rather control." Lilov rejects the assertion that there is such a phenomenon.

A Bulgarian journalist asks Lilov whether he was not concerned with the fact that BSP leaders have not been elected in Sofia. "It could happen to anyone," Lilov says, "the important thing is that the elections were democratic."

Another Bulgarian journalist asks about the process of renewal in the BSP. Lilov describes the party plans to renew itself on the basis of the "classical Marxist thought" and all achievements of the socialist thought. In this context he says that the next party congress will take place sooner than originally planned. Lilov is asked by a Bulgarian journalist whether the BSP has changed its call for forming a coalition. Lilov repeats the appeal for forming a national consensus coalition.

A journalist from Skopje, speaking in Macedonia, asks about the oppression of human rights in Bulgaria, and specifically refers to the "rights of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria." "I understood everything you said. We have the same language," Lilov says. He rejects the claim that a Macedonian minority exists in Bulgaria. A reporter from Bulgarian Television asks about the penalties for those who have violated the election process. "Competent state organs must verify the violations," Lilov says.

An Egyptian journalist why Lukanov and Dzhurov could not win in their constituencies, and whether there is a chance for a split within the BSP. Lilov explains the fact nonelection of Lukanov and Dzhurov as an "expression of real democracy," and asserts that they can be elected in the second round. He says that he does not know anything about any split in the BSP.

A ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME reporter asks Lilov to comment on the "great BSP victory in the villages," against the background of the BSP agrarian policy. Lilov says that it is the people who decide for whom they vote. A Bulgarian reporter asks Lilov to comment on the defeat of the BSP in the big cities. Lilov says that three to four cities do not represent the entire country, however, adds that "the BSP will analyze the results in Sofia." A Bulgarian reporter asks whether rationing will be introduced in Bulgaria. Lilov says that no rationing is envisaged.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether a possible coalition with then SDS could exist for more than a few months, and whether BSP leaders, who have not been elected, will be members of the cabinet. Lilov says that the future will tell about the coalition and the length of its existence. The personal issue is unclear, Lilov says, but in the Constitution there is no obstacle to this.

Andrey Manolov from the SDS Press Center asks whether the BSP is prepared to form a small coalition with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. We are prepared to form a coalition with all parties that support democracy and national integrity, Lilov says. A Swiss journalist asks whether "integration policy" toward the Turkish minority will be conducted. Lilov asks the reporter to clarify the "integration policy" concept. Lilov says that the party will conduct a policy aimed at restoring all rights of the Turkish minority.

A Bulgarian reporter asks Lilov whether he has to say something to say to the Bulgarian students. Lilov says that the students were wrong to think that there was an "information blackout" and expresses hope that the students will actively participate in the country's socialist renewal. A Spanish reporter asks Lilov whether contacts between the BSP and the Socialist International are still continuing. Lilov confirms.

A Soviet reporter asks Lilov to analyze the first round of the elections against the background of the changes in East Europe. Lilov says that the BSP learned from the mistakes of other parties, "which did not begin renewal on time," and says that this fact contributed to the party's success in the elections.

A Turkish reporter asks whether the BSP intends to merge with the Social Democratic Party led by Dr. Dertliev. Lilov says that there are no such plans. Reporter Plamen Enchev from DUMA asks whether the opposition has made mistakes, which contributed to the BSP's success. Lilov answers that the opposition itself should analyze its campaign.

Several reporters asks additional questions about the chances of forming a coalition with the SDS and the BSP's social policy. Lilov's answers follow the line of his previous statements on those issues. A Bulgarian reporter asks whether the defeat in Sofia was not influenced by the "young and inexperienced" BSP candidates. Lilov describes the "democratic manner" in which the candidates list were formed, and points out the "influence from the bottom" in forming the lists of candidates.

A Palestinian reporter asks whether the existence of the Podkrepa Trade Union does not imply a failure in BSP's trade union policy. Lilov refuses to comment on Podkrepa, and expresses support for the activity of the Independent Trade Unions. The news conference ends at 1500 GMT.

SDS' Zhelev Addresses News Conference

AU1406180990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1607 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Statement by Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, Coordination Council, at SDS News Conference in the Sofia press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 14 June—live]

[Text] Good evening. In the first place, I would like to apologize for the small delay which occurred.

The first round of the first free elections in Bulgaria in 45 years has ended. The results make it possible to draw several conclusions and assessments.

Out of 6,334,000 voters, 2,885,000 voted for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which means 3,448,000 have voted against the BSP, namely against communism. [applause]

At these elections, the Bulgarian people voted against communism. The Bulgarian people, like the other peoples in East Europe, rejected communism, though not with the same result as in other countries.

Nevertheless, this result is very important to us, considering that the elections proceeded under conditions of total manipulation to which the BSP subjected the population. Actually, these elections were implemented by the BSP with the assistance of the state apparatus. This necessarily imposes the question: Were the elections really fair?

The concept of honesty basically belongs to the [word indistinct] category. The elections were not fair; they were dishonest elections. They were elections in which demagogy, lies, slanders, insinuations, overt threats, and noisy propaganda of gigantic proportions were applied—elections in which certain strata of the population were subject to absolute manipulation.

In this respect, it is ridiculous to talk about honest elections, just as it is naive and ridiculous to claim the BSP could have conducted its election campaign and propaganda in a different manner. Were the elections free? In the formal sense of the term, they were free. No one was compelled to vote by force. No one was obliged to vote for one, or another side on election day. This was the visible aspect of the elections, this was what the foreigners who assisted as observer-guests actually saw. Therefore, they remained under the impression the elections not only were free, but fair. They did not know and could not know the total dishonesty of the BSP election propaganda conducted months prior to the elections, they could not know about the falsification of part of the protocols on the way from the ballot box to the district polling station, from there to the okrug polling station, and to the Sofia central polling station, from where they were dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission.

This raises the justified question: Why does the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] agree to accept the results from these elections? Because, in our opinion and generally speaking, they reflect the real correlation of forces. They show that on election day, a major part of the population still was not free of fear, still was under pressure, and suffered from the violence of the totalitarian system. Another, considerable part of the people still are subjected to this system's domination. Are these elections a victory or defeat for the opposition?

We, as I already said, consider them a tremendous victory. We, who cannot boast with an equivalent of the Hungarian events in 1956, and the Czechoslovak events in 1968, of the Polish events in 1966 and 1980, neverthless succeeded in only eight months to establish a democratic opposition which contends the power of the Communist Party and which we are confident one day will prevail.

The SDS alone, as it appears from first election round, will be the second force in the Grand National Assembly, a force without which no decision can be adopted, no law passed.

Our positions are becoming very strong because we no longer are a non-parliamentarian opposition group expressing itself through rallies and other forms of protest, but are becoming a powerful, parliamentarian opposition.

However, our most valuable achievements, which the elections and qualitative analysis demonstrated, is the fact that our youth, the young generation of Bulgaria, stand with us. The intelligentsia is on our side—the most enterprising and dynamic part of the population is with us, and they demand immediate changes. Let me point out one more thing: The country's large cities—namely Sofia, Varna, Plovdiv, Ruse, Gabrovo, Blagoevgrad, and Pernik—are on our side, and as far as the capital is concerned, we can describe it as the stronghold of our oppostion.

I think these things resolve many questions in advance and also raise many questions that should be pondered.

The elections sure to demonstrate quite well that the BSP is a stagnating party, a conservative one, no matter how much it tried to present itself as a party of change in the recent past.

Throughout the period in question, the BSP constantly threatened the people with the forthcoming change, the various social changes, by totally distorting their nature, of course. The BSP frightened the population and claimed if the opposition was to take over power, it would introduce a market economy, market democracy, and democratic reforms. It frightened the militia by claiming they would be deprived of their pensions, and frighthened the peasants that agrarian reform would restore the old master-servant relations in the villages. The BSP frightened the workers, that if the opposition would come to power, it would restore the plants and enterprises to the capitalists. Even now, prior to the second round of elections, the BSP, through the mail, is disseminating such primitive, vulgar, and inaccurate pamphlets to the voters. I think this should define the BSP most effectively as a party of stagnation, a party incapable of implementing the changes within the country, which is one of the main reasons why we do not wish to enter a coalition with the BSP.

In as much as we are concerned about the difficult economic and political situation in which our country is involved today, we think specific steps should be adopted toward establishing a government capable of solving the basic problems facing the country.

Under the present political circumstances, and considering the confrontation the BSP has provoked, in the first place, we do not believe these problems could be solved by a coalition government. We propose the government be composed of competent people capable of relying on the political support of the major forces.

In my opinion, it is high time for such a government to prepare and submit the necessary economic reforms package to the Grand National Assembly. Such reforms should be put into operation no later than mid-November 1990 so a normal, economic year of transition may be guaranteed. In this manner, the political forces will have to show whether they really favor a political reform.

In the second place, the government should prepare a law on local elections and local government no later than the beginning of October 1990. Establishment of a democratic structure replacing the present local government is exceptionally important. The elections in question should eliminate the bureaucratic structures established over decades.

Thirdly, we need a series of legislative measures ensuring the population's social protection, especially that of the socially weak strata, such as pensioners, housewives, employees with low wages, the unemployed, and others. They should be protected against the negative effects of the economic crisis in which the Bulgarian Communist Party had placed the country, such as unemployment, inflation, deterioration of production, delayed agrarian reform, and so forth.

Thank you for your attention.

Answers Reporters' Questions

AU1406172390

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1607 GMT on 14 June begins a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of a news conference given by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic forces, SDS.

Following an opening statement, Zhelev answers reporters' questions . The first question asked by a Bulgarian reporter asks whether the recent incident with the Bulgarian Television will affect the second round of the elections. Zhelev says that the film that was shown was a "vulgar manipulation," and says that he does not know how this will affect the second round of the elections. A Danish reporter asks whether the SDS is not actually happy with losing the elections, because now the BSP will have to cope with the economic situation. Zhelev says that the question is very interesting, however, it is the country's fate that stands above anything else.

A reporter from Portuguese Television asks whether the SDS will begin a policy of political boycott and continue then street demonstrations. He also asks whether there is a secret agreement with the BSP. We have never adopted a decision on forming a coalition with the BSP, Zhelev

says. "With such a party, burdened by so many sins and crimes, we will form no coalition." He again points out the possibility of forming a government of "competent people," without party affiliation.

An unidentified foreign reporter asks about the SDS' future plans. "The election results are not bad," Zhelev says. "For us they are magnificent." "Things are not as dramatic as the BSP propaganda presented them," he says, and does not outline specific future plans.

A Bulgarian reporter asks when the SDS changed its opinion about the elections and decided that they are dishonest and rigged. Zhelev says that from the very beginning he saw the elections as dishonest. He adds that the SDS tried to prepare the people for the pressure that will be applied on them but apparently, their fear was stronger.

Another reporter asks whom she should believe, and what is the alternative the SDS presents. Zhelev says that Petko Simeonov will answer this question. Simeonov answers by saying that he himself was a member of the Communist Party. It took years to understand that the Communist Party is leading the country to the precipice, Simeonov says. "I understood that this party has no right to exist." He describes the influence of Solzhenitsyn's books and the August 1968 invasion of the CSSR on his attitude toward the Communist Party. Opinions do not change in a day or two, but in years, he says in conclusion. Zhelev again takes the floor and says that the single-party regime is the worst possible thing, and the SDS will do everything to avoid such a development.

A Japanese journalist asks whether the SDS is prepared to support a government of competent people, who are party members. Zhelev says that until the end of term of the Grand National Assembly it is necessary to form some form of coalition, because this is a necessary step in the transition toward democracy. For this purpose, the SDS signed agreements with all political parties except the BSP to act together in the Grand National Assembly as a united faction. He says that the SDS will continue to act in a constructive manner for Bulgaria's future. "There is no precise decision," Zhelev says about forming a coalition of competent party members. The future will tell, we must think about this.

A Bulgarian reporter asks Petko Simeonov, head of the SDS election headquarters, to comment on the fact that the head of the BSP election staff was a former deputy minister of internal affairs, and whether he could, as such, utilize his knowledge and position.

Simeonov points out the manipulations conducted by the BSP, in which "Hitler and Zhelyu Zhelev were presented as friends." Such things can influence unsophisticated people, Simeonov says. The BSP covered the country with such lies, and used anonymous materials and threats in its campaign. He refutes the "accusation that the SDS has received $2 million from the West."

A Bulgarian reporter asks how the various political, parties within the SDS will coordinate their policies on crucial issues of national importance, such as ethnic issues.

Zhelev says that the SDS platform was the only one which "fully addressed the ethnic issue." He points out that all parties within the SDS agree on all major issues. A DUMA reporter asks a question about the number of opposition newspapers in Bulgaria, and the "stormy street life" in Sofia, referring to the demonstrations organized by the SDS. Are you going to assume any responsibility for what happens in the streets, she asks.

Zhelev says that then SDS is responsible for its own rallies, which are well organized and protected by the militia. "Foreign elements can always join a rally," Zhelev says. We are responsible only for what we organize and conduct. "If you refer to the recent demonstrations in sofia, I can tell you that the SDS had nothing to do with this," Zhelev says, and points out that the SDS "is trying to channel the spontaneous protest." As to the number of opposition newspapers, Zhelev says that there are "seven to eight such newspapers."

A French reporter asks whether the SDS supports the student strike. Zhelev answers that the SDS supports the strike by students, who conduct their strike inside the university, and opposes the actions of those who conduct their strike in the streets and disrupt public life.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether the SDS election slogan was not democratic and asks what the SDS can offer to those who voted for the BSP. Zhelev says that since the party changed its name, this shows that it itself knew that it can offer nothing to the people. He says that the Western observers could not see the manipulation, because it was conducted months before the elections. He does not answer the question as to what the SDS could offer those who voted for the BSP.

Another Bulgarian reporter asks Zhelev what organization of the SDS he is member. An angry voice answers "do you want to say that you do not know that Dr. Zhelev is one of the organizers of the 'Glasnost and Democracy' Movement?" Zhelev adds: " I also am a founding member of Ecoglasnost. The SDS news conference ends at 1711 GMT.

BTA Views News Conference

AU1406223790 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) suggests to form a government made up of competent people who enjoy the support of the major political forces, the leader of the opposition, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, said at a news conference today.

He stated his concept about the main tasks of the future government. It should present a package of documents about an economic reform not later than November this year. A local election law should be prepared by October

which will make it possible to remove the party-bureaucratic structures. The government is obliged to take measures aimed at the social protection of the Bulgarians who are hit by the economic crisis.

Assessing the results of the elections, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out: "The most important thing is that the Bulgarian people cast their votes against communism and rejected it."

According to him it is ridiculous to speak about fair elections when the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) resorted to lies, deception, insinuations and even bribery. The foreign observers saw, in a certain sense, free elections; nobody was forced to vote for the BSP, but it is only the visible part of it, Dr. Zhelev pointed out. "The BSP acted dishonestly before the elections, there were falsifications when the vote-count records were on their way from the ballot-boxes to the Central Electoral Commission."

And yet the SDS accepts the elections, Dr. Zhelev said, because they reflect the real distribution of forces. Part of the Bulgarian people is still scared. The elections can be considered as a victory of the opposition, because it is still too young and it has neither the experience, nor the background of the opposition in the other East European countries, the SDS leader pointed out. "Some day it will gain the upper hand, we are sure of it," Dr. Zhelev underlined. "A strong parliamentary opposition"—that is how he defined the new role of the opposition.

He stressed that the opposition would not split before the expiry of the term of the Grand National Assembly. He considers it possible that when the SDS achieves its main goals some parties and movements may leave it and others may remain united and form a party.

According to him the greatest success of the opposition is that it won the votes of the young people, of the intellectuals, of the people of enterprise, the votes in the big cities and Sofia.

Dr. Zhelev confirmed once again the decision of the SDS that it will not enter a coalition with the BSP, "a party which is burdened with past sins, a party of stagnation and conservatism which intimidates the people with the changes."

President Mladenov Denies SDS Charges

AU1406224690 Sofia BTA in English 2056 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA)—President Petur Mladenov denied the authenticity of the video material shown tonight by the television studio of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). In the film Mr. Petur Mladenov can be seen saying: "The best thing to do is let the tanks come." This happened on December 14 last year at the session of the National Assembly. Mr. Petur Mladenov, then secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and president of the State Council, failed to calm down the demonstrators who insisted on the immediate revocation of the text in the Constitution that guaranteed the leading role of the BCP in society.

In a statement read on television tonight Mr. Petur Mladenov qualified the video film as "a primitive montage."

It was said in the statement that "such a thing can never happen in a civilized country" and that Mr. Mladenov does not intend to reply to these "malicious accusations." It became clear that the president is going to hold the culprits liable before the law.

TV Council Rejects Journalists, SDS Complaint

AU1406202790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Statements were submitted to the council in charge of complaints and objections under the Parliamentary-Public Commission for Observation and Control Over Television and Radio by the Union of Bulgarian Television Workers and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

The council established that Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee, acted in accordance with the decisions of the national roundtable and the Parliamentary-Public Commission in connection with the fact that political party declarations should be broadcast only within the framework of election campaign programs. As for the alleged refusal to broadcast Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev's declaration, the commission states that it was broadcast last night.

The chairman of the Television Committee is elected by the National Assembly. Hence, a proposal that he be released should be submitted to the future Grand National Assembly.

After examining some complaints related to the work of local radio stations, the commission on complaints draws attention to the fact that these radio stations are not part of the Bulgarian national radio network, and considering this fact such complaints should be addressed to the local municipal people's councils.

Smaller Party Leaders Assess Results, 2d Round

BZNS' Vulkov: No BSP Coalition

AU1406161690

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1505 GMT on 14 June begins a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of a news conference given by Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, BZNS.

Vulkov begins the news conference with a brief statement in which he describes the election results as a "victory for democracy." "We accept the results," Vulkov says, and adds that "the results achieved by the

BZNS were less than we had expected. However, we do not view it as a tragedy," and will carefully analyze the results. He mentions "certain imperfections we have as a party," and stresses that "we struggled not only against our opponents, but also against strong residues in the souls of our people, accumulated throughout the years of the totalitarian regime." He points out that the BZNS goal will be to "ensure the peaceful transition toward a better life," and contribute to constructing the new image of Bulgaria. The most serious events in our country will really begin only after 17 June, Vulkov says, and ends his statement.

A Japanese journalist asks Vulkov whether the Movement for Rights and Freedoms will participate in a coalition with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], if the BZNS does not form a coalition with the BSP. Vulkov says that the BZNS "will not participate in a bi-party coalition with the BSP," however, it will support a broad coalition with the participation of the SDS.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether the BZNS "moderate election campaign" contributed anything to the election results. Vulkov says that the moderate election campaign made the BZNS more appealing in the eyes of the people, however, this fact apparently did not contribute to the election results.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether Vulkov has not been attacked by BZNS members for his refusal to enter into a coalition with the BSP. Vulkov confirms that there have been threats and anonymous letters, and attributed this to "the long-lasting participation in a government with the BSP." In many people this turned into a habit, very much like a marriage. So they could not get accustomed to the new line. "Some people could not understand that the BZNS could have its own line on certain issues," Vulkov says.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether Vulkov has information concerning a manipulation of the peasants by other political forces. Vulkov confirms and says that the scope was such that "we could not do anything about it."

A reporter asks whether the BZNS made mistakes in its election campaign. Vulkov confirms the opinion that mistakes have been committed and attributes them to lack of experience and the futile negotiations on merging with the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS.

A Bulgarian reporter asks about "imperfections of the election system" and its influence over the final results. "The people could not understand the advantages the proportional system offers," Vulkov says, and admits that the election system was not ideal.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether it would not have been better to postpone the elections. Vulkov says that it was a decision of the roundtable, shared by all political forces, and nothing could be done about it now. A Sofia Press reporter asks whether the BZNS members will accept the appeal to vote for the SDS. Vulkov answers that this depends on the members themselves.

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether the "new marriage" with the SDS will not confuse the members. "The BZNS remains an independent party," Vulkov says, stressing that the BZNS has no intention of joining the SDS, "and anyway, has not been invited to do so."

A Bulgarian reporter asks whether the BZNS has precise information concerning the number of the BZNS members, who have been repressed. Vulkov says that a special commission is dealing with this issue.

Additional questions are asked about election manipulation in the villages. Vulkov expresses the party's concern with the fact that it did not receive enough votes in the villages, and points out that "there was manipulation, and occasionally it was even very creative." He points out that the "BZNS made the choice of whether to have more deputies in the National Assembly, or to follow an independent line, whatever the results." Further on he points out the positive aspects of the BZNS election platform.

A Bulgarian reporter asks Vulkov what the BZNS will do to restore its prestige. Vulkov repeats that the "BZNS does not view the results as a tragedy," and says that all lessons will be learned.

An Iranian journalist asks what the BZNS wants to gain from the cooperation with the SDS. "We have no agreement with the SDS," Vulkov says. "It is normal and logical that forces in the opposition cooperate. We do not aim at any political gains from this cooperation. We simply recommended a certain political decision to our supporters," Vulkov says referring to the recommendation to BZNS members to vote for the SDS.

An unidentified foreign journalist asks what can the BZNS do about further election manipulations. Vulkov says that the party can do very little, "because traditionally, the ruling party is the one that engages in manipulations, and it did it in a very inventive manner." He also expresses concern that such manipulation could be repeated at the municipal elections, which will take place at the end of the year.

The final question refers to the chances of merging with the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS. Vulkov expresses his belief that the two agrarian parties will merge. The news conference ends at 1600 GMT.

Dogan Holds News Conference

AU1406191290

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1715 GMT on 14 June carries a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of a news conference by Akhmed Dogan, chairman of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Dogan begins his news conference with a one-minute statement about his movement's election campaign, then invites questions from the floor.

Asked to comment on the existence of illegal anti-Bulgarian organizations, Dogan does not admit the existence of any illegal ethnic Turkish organization and confirms that his organization solely aims at protecting the interests of Bulgarian Muslims in certain regions of the country.

To a question whether his movement will take part in a coalition with the BSP, Dogan says that the Rights and Freedoms Movement will not form a coalition with the BSP alone, but is willing in principle to join a broader coalition.

Asked if his movement would join a "national party," Dogan states that he does not believe that Bulgaria has need of such a party. He later states that his movement also supports Bulgaria's closer affiliation with Europe.

Asked about his party's membership in the Grand National Assembly, Dogan says that 21 seats "are far from symbolic," and that its members will play a real role in parliament.

A Kuwaiti Embassy staff member asks why the Rights and Freedoms Movement won so few seats, since Dogan is supposed to have claimed that there are two million ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. Dogan denies that the numbers of Muslims are so large, and explains that the number of seats gained is realtively low because the Muslims are concentrated in certain rural areas of the country.

Journalist Antonov of Reuter asks how many in Dogan's movement are not Muslims. Dogan says such members are "very few."

Asked why he does not raise the issue of human rights violations with Turkey, Dogan says his movement is fighting for rights and freedoms in Bulgaria, not in Turkey.

Dogan is further asked about a declaration signed by his movement on the fire of the Khaskovo Mosque.

Asked about the movement's support for the opposition Dogan declares that his movement is a "revolutionary force" and as such it is natural that it should support the opposition.

A reporter from the daily ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME asks Dogan about his relations with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and with the Nikola Petkov faction, to which Dogan replies that his relations were rather close with the Nikola Petkov group, but "he had no relations whatsoever" with the official BZNS in the past, and as to the future, he is ready to cooperate with all forces "ready to guarantee human rights and freedoms in Bulgaria."

A BTA reporter [name indistinct] asks about the movement's declaration on languages, to which Dogan replies that the Bulgarian language will always be considered as the official language by his group, but that the "ethnic, maternal" language also should be respected and used.

Asked about his opinions on economic issues and which party's economic program he prefers, Dogan suggests greater emphasis on cooperation and economic exchange with the Arab world, which is more reliable than the Western one, and would guarantee the "economic pluralism" of the country.

A Polish journalist asks Dogan about his definition of "nationalism" and "chauvinism," to which Dogan replies that his party's program has accurately defined these concepts and even the concept of "fundamentalism" and explains that as opposed to nationalism, chaunvinism is aggressive.

Asked by an Egyptian journalist with whom the movement would ally in a future parliament, Dogan explains his preference for the Nikola Petkov agrarians.

A Greek journalist asks Dogan about his attitude toward Bulgarian Turks who left for Turkey, and subsequently to Cyprus.

Dogan's replies are rather indistinct, but he seems to engage in a hot exchange with the Greek journalist about nationality questions, which is soon interrupted.

An unidentified reporter asks whether Dogan's "future deputies" will cooperate with the Bulgarian "civic society" to which Dogan responds affirmatively.

The news conference with Ahmed Diogan ends at 1812 GMT.

Lukanov Receives Iranian Foreign Affairs Envoy

AU1406202990 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr. Mohammad Larijani, secretary of the Commission for Foreign Relations of the Supreme Security Council of Iran.

The two sides expressed a shared desire for the extension of the two countries' relations by including new areas of cooperation. An agreement was reached that the session of the joint committee for economic and sci-technical cooperation would be held in September this year. Assurance was expressed that the agreements concluded between the governments of the two countries would be fulfilled.

Electoral Commission Finishes Second 'Scrutiny'

Issues Election Mandates

LD1306223190 Prague CTK in English 1118 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 13 Jun (CTK)—The assignment of mandates to concrete candidates was the aim of the first and second scrutinies which completed definitively the elections to the three Czechsolovak parliaments the existence of which ensures from the law on the Czechoslovak Federation.

The elections to the 300-member Federal Assembly, the supreme legislative body of the Czechoslovak Federation, and the 200-member Czech and 150-member Slovak National Councils, the supreme legislative bodies of the Czech and Slovak republics, took place on June 8-9 with 22 political parties, movements and coalitions running for the elections to the Federal Assembly, 13 of them to the Czech and 16 to the Slovak National Councils. Some of the parties ran for both Federal Assembly houses.

Only those parties, movements or coalitions which won minimally five per cent of votes either in the Czech or the Slovak republics, could gain mandates to the Federal Assembly. The same number of votes was needed for the entry to the Czech National council. In Slovakia, the limit was lower, only 3 per cent of votes to the Slovak National Council.

According to these regulations the following parties, movements and coalitions entered the House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly from the Czech Republic: the Civic Forum (53.15 per cent of votes), the Communist Party (13.48), the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (7.89), and the Christian Democratic Union (8.69); from Slovakia: the Public Against Violence (32.54 per cent), the Christian Democratic Movement (18.98), the Communist Party (13.81), the Slovak National Party (10.96) and the Coalition "Coexistence" and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (8.58).

The 150-member House of Nations will be composed of the following parties elected in the Czech Republic: The Civic Forum (49.96 per cent), the Communist Party (13.8), the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (9.1 per cent) and the Christian Democratic Union (8.75); The Slovak republic: Public Against Violence (37.28), Christian Democratic Movement (16.66), Communist Party (13.43), Slovak National Party (11.44), "Coexistence" and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (8.49).

The Czech National Council will include the Civic Forum (49.50 per cent), the Communist Party (13.24), the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (10.3) and the Christian Democratic Union (8.42). The parties which won mandates to the Slovak National Council are: The Public Against Violence (29.34), the Christian Democratic Movement (19.20), the Slovak National Party (13.94), the Communist Party (13.34), the Coalition "Coexistence" and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (8.66), the Democratic Party (4.39) and the Green Party (3.48).

The first scrutiny was carried out in the framework of the twelve electoral regions in the country. All votes given to individual parties and movements in each region were counted and the result was divided by the number of mandates assigned to each in with addition of number 1 to the number of mandates. Dividing the quotient by a number of votes a party, movement or coalition won, one will get the number of mandates it gained in the region. The voters could influence the assignment of mandates to concrete candidates through expressing their preferences on the ballots.

The votes and mandates which were not used in the first scrutiny were divided similarly in the second one in the framework of the whole Czech and the whole Slovak Republics. The parties concerned had to hand over their lists of candidates for the second scrutiny to the Central Election Commission by June 12.

All 22 parties, movements and coalitions chose more than 6,000 candidates for 650 seats in the three Czechoslovak parliaments.

Discusses Parliament Elections

LD1406033190 Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 13 Jun (CTK)—The Czech Election Commission discussed at its last session here today the final results of the elections to the Czech National Council, including the results of the second scrutiny.

After the first scrutinty four mandates remained for distributing. In line with the count, the Civic Forum got one mandate, the Czechoslovak Communist Party two, the Christian and Democratic Union one and the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia none.

A total of 200 seats have thus been filled in the Czech National Council as follows: The Civic Forum-127, the Czechoslovak Communist Party-37, the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia-22 and the Christian and Democratic Union-19. At the same time, lists of substitutes totalling 499 were drawn up.

Notes Media 'Shortcomings'

LD1406034690 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 13 Jun (CTK)—In dealing with complaints, the Czechoslovak Central Election Commission had come to the conclusion that provisions of the election law had not been observed in some cases, the commission said in a statement today.

The complaints concerned particularly the observance of the rules of the election campaign in the television and

other state mass media, the document stated and added that in some cases the Central Election Commission put things right and in others it appealed to competent bodies to do so. "Despite this, however, the commission must express its dissatisfaction with the work of the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY and Czechoslovak Television in the election campaign. Undoubtedly, the shortcomings found had an impact on the outcome of the elections. However, they were not of such an extent to harm their regularity", the statement said.

The Central Election Commission has gathered an amount of knowledge which can be utilized in preparing new elections to the legislative bodies.

The commission appreciated that in the elections a common idea of the restoration of democracy in this country prevailed over the spirit of party rivalry. The best evidence of this was supplied by voters themselves. 96 per cent of registered voters who went to the polls proved that the majority of Czechoslovak citizens realize the significance of the elections for the future, the statement on the end of the 1990 free elections said.

Havel Congratulates Parties, Election Commission

LD1406034290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Today the Central Election Commission finished its demanding work by completing 13 mandates to the Chamber of Nations in the second scrutiny, and the same number to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Peoples. They were distributed among the parties that won the right to participate in the parliament. The official end was marked by putting the signature, of all members of the various commissions, representing 22 political parties, movements, and coalitions in this year's election, on the three copies of the final protocol concerning the course and results of the elections. President of the Republic Vaclav Havel and Premier Calfa attended the session. As is typical for the president, his visit has been unexpected. This made his welcome even more cordial, not only by the members of the Central Election Commission but also by the Czech Election Commission and regional commissions, which took part. Here is a voice recording of the words of President Vaclav Havel:

[Begin Havel recording] I have come to thank you for your work, I congratulate you on it, I am pleased the elections took place—it seems so far it has passed without any chaos, disorder, uncertainties, or suspicion. I find it wonderful. At the same time, as among you are representatives of all parties, coalitions and movements that participated in the elections, I would like to congratulate you all: whether to those who won or those who did not win, or were not placed very highly. We are all winners regardless of the percentage given to each of us because freedom and the will for democracy has won. Some of the parties that did come up very high will find themselves higher in the next elections because, in the meantime, the political life will be crystallized, the parties will establish more clear-cut profiles, will have better-defined programs, new generations of political personalities will grow up who—and I am looking forward to this—will do everything in our stead. [end recording]

This is what Vaclav Havel said to the members of individual election commissions. Premier Marian Calfa then thanked everyone who participated in the elections, the voters in particular.

Meets With Communist Party Officials

LD1406181790 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met here today First Secretary of Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Vasil Mohorita and Chairman of Slovak Communist Party Executive Committee Peter Weiss for talks on various themes including the role of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia's future political life.

Federal, Republican Governments Begin Forming

LD1406110690 Prague CTK in English 1015 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—The results of the June 8-9 parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia will be reflected in the composition of the federal, Czech and Slovak governments having a total of 58 ministerial posts at present.

Of the aggregate of 22 political parties, movements and coalitions which stood for the elections, eight parties and groupings will have their representatives in the Federal Assembly (parliament), four will be represented in the Czech National Council (republic parliament) and seven in the Slovak National Council. A landslide victory in the elections was scored by the Civic Forum/Public Against Violence which played the major role in the November 1989 revolution which toppled the Communist regime.

The new Federal Assembly will meet at its constituent session in Prague on June 27. Constituent meetings will be held also by the Czech and Slovak legislatures in Prague and Bratislava, respectively, in the last week of June.

These sessions will be preceded by the three government's resignations. That of the federal government will be sent in to President Vaclav Havel by Premier Marian Calfa. The resignations of the national governments will be handed in by their premiers to the Presidiums of the Czech and Slovak National Councils. The federal government is appointed by the president, the national government by the National Council's Presidiums.

Currently, talks are under way on possible coalition groupings, while no party which got into the parliament would for a coalition with the Communist Party. [sentence as received]

The new governments should submit their program statements to the parliaments within a fortnight after their appointment.

It is the duty of the Federal Assembly to elect a new president of Czechoslovakia within 40 days from the beginning of its functioning. The only candidate thus far is the present president, Vaclav Havel, proposed by the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence political movements. Vaclav Havel was first elected on December 29, 1989. The new turn of duty of the president as well as of the three legislatures will be only 24 months, a transitional period during which Czechoslovakia should switch to full democracy and a market economy.

In November, local elections will be held in Czechoslovakia.

Civic Forum Will Do 'Utmost' To Form Coalition

LD1406192390 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—The Civic Forum will do its utmost to win the Christian and Democratic Union as a partner in a coalition, Civic Forum spokeswoman Jana Ryslinkova said here today, adding that there are no disputes as to the two republics' coalitions.

Speaking at a press conference, she stated that talks on the creation of a new federal government continued and that Civic Fourm activists had met with Czechoslovak Premier Marjan Calfa today and tomorrow they would meet with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

According to preliminary results, the Civic Forum coalition, the Christian and Democratic Union and the Movement for Autonomous Democracy are expected to form the new Czech Government. In Slovakia talks were held between the Christian Democrats and the Public Against Violence, the Civic Forum spokeswoman said and added that the talks on the composition of the new governments had ended neither on federal nor on national levels.

She went on to say that the Civic Forum had submitted several proposals for the post of Czechoslovakia's premier. Eventually, it agreed with seeking a new premier among those proposed by the Public Against Violence (PAV). President Havel and the PAV agreed on Marian Calfa who is acceptable for the Civic Forum. "In case the proposed government is not acceptable for the Christian and Democratic Union, and this would prevent the approval of the new government by the Parliament, the Civic Forum would be ready to seek a new candidate suitable for all sides involved", Jana Ryslinkova pointed out.

She said that the tactics of present Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher are no longer acceptable for the Civic Forum as he disagrees with separating the office for the protection of the Constitution and democracy from the Interior Ministry and subordinating it to the Federal Assembly. This is also the reason why the Civic Forum does not want Mr Sacher to hold this post in the future.

Jana Ryslinkova confirmed that Czech singer Marta Kubisova, who had been banned in this country in the past 20 years and had ran as a Civic Forum candidate for the parliamentary elections, had given up her mandate. She had chosen singing which, however, does not mean she would withdraw from the Civic Forum or political life, the Civic Forum spokeswoman said.

Socialist Party Plans Opposition Bloc

LD1306062090 Prague CTK in English 1645 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 13 Jun (CTK)—Chairman Jiri Vyvadil of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party told the press here today that the party would try to form a free opposition bloc of the parties that had failed to get into parliament, while cooperating with the parties in parliament, save for the communists.

Chairman Vyvadil said that some of the supporters of the Socialist Party had voted for the Civic Forum because they were generally correct in taking it for the strongest party to oppose the communists.

He also said that the danger of a split within the Socialist Party was not over yet and that efforts should be exerted to consolidate it and maintain the party's line.

People's Party Leaders Hold News Conference

LD1406153890 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—Czechoslovak People's Party representatives told the press conference today that the party will discuss its representation in the government of the Czech Republic but its representatives would not enter the federal government.

They recalled in this context that partners in the Christian and Democratic Union can act independently and make their own decisions, under a mutual agreement. The party would accept participation in the federal government only if it were offered four seats. Of fundamental significance is the Interior Ministry and the People's Party is eminently interested in retaining the post (now held by Richard Sacher).

At the talks on setting up the Czech Government, the People's Party will demand the post of one of the deputy premiers and at least two ministerial seats. In the Federal Assembly the party wants its deputies to achieve the best possible representation both in its presidium and in the two houses and the committees.

Referring to the suspension of Chairman Josef Bartoncik's activities, the People's Party representatives stated there had been no united opinion on Mr Bartoncik's case at yesterday's party Central Committee session and it will therefore be dealt with in detail not until the national People's Party conference in September.

Dr Bartoncik's health condition has evidently improved as he has been transferred from the intensive care unit to a room for convalescents where he is expected to say another two or three weeks. Suspension of the function

of chairman has nothing in common with the parliamentary seat, Josef Bartoncik was regularly elected Federal Assembly deputy. The documents from Interior Ministry archives will be considered by the new parliament's Credentials and Immunity Committees.

The People's Party Central Committee dismissed Chief Editor of the party paper LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE Jiri Navratil and approved Emerich Mach in his place and at the same time abolished the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE board of editors led by Rudolf Stroebinger. The chief editor's dismissal was due to the small partiality of the paper in the pre-election period.

Asked whether the party would put up a candidate for the presidential office, the People's Party representatives said the party had supported Vaclav Havel's candidature in the last presidential election in December 1989 and has no reason to change its attitude.

On the results of the elections, they said they are roughly by 10 per cent worse than the party expected.

Government, Barcak View Economic Issues

LD1406203890 Prague CTK in English 1855 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—Preparations for the transition of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade to convertible currencies and world prices was one of the points on the agenda of today's session of the Government of National Understanding.

Taking note of a report on the development of Czechoslovakia's foreign exchange relations last year and prospects for this year, the government stated that since the mid-1980's there has been a trend towards an active balance in trade with countries of the rouble area, which reached 45,500 million crowns at the end of 1989, equalling roughly one-third of annual imports from these countries. Since the middle of the 1970's the country's balanced position has been replaced by growing debts which amount at present to 8,000 million dollars.

The government further discussed ways of settling obligations with member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and other countries of the rouble area, due by December 31, 1990, including the conversion of credit agreements and re-calculation of concluded conctracts with delivery terms after 1990.

Dealing with the development of trade with the GDR, the government considered three stages—the period till the end of this year when GDR exports to CEMA states will be based on the transferrable rouble, the period before the unification of Germany when goods will be exchanged on the basis of clearing payment in West German marks, and the stage following the unification of the two German states when trade is to be completely liberalized.

At a press conference after the govenment session, Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak said he was still a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and would remain so at least till the present government's term expires. Barcak said he expects the premier to fill ministerial posts according to the outcome of the elections and he therefore did not believe he would continue holding his present post. Andrej Barcak is one of the two Communist ministers in the present 23-member federal government.

Referring to some points discussed by the government, concerning integration of the economy in the world economic system, Barcak pointed out the illusions of some Czechoslovak manufacturers who fail to realize that apart from production profits, also higher costs of raw materials and other factors will be reflected in their management.

The minister stressed that internal economy will have to be protected under GATT conditions. He added that one of the aims of the devaluation of the crown in relation to convertible currencies was to boost exports and limit imports. However, in the first four months of this year exports remained on the same level whereas imports increased by 25 per cent.

As regards future cooperation with the GDR, Barcak said Czechoslovakia's assets are expected to increase by about 230 million crowns. The GDR cancelled Czechoslovak exports worth about 90 million crowns. Nevertheless, certain possibilities existed to improve supplies to the Czechoslovak market as a number of manufacturers in the GDR have difficulties with sales of their products to demanding markets, the Czechoslovak foreign trade minister said.

Economic Reform Timetable Released, Viewed

AU1506060190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jun 90 p 3

["HN"-signed report: "On the Timetable for Economic Reform"]

[Text] The progress of economic reform has been a frequently discussed question over the past several months. The reform is at the public's focal point of interest and its timetable has already been established. Our readers have already been informed that the federal government adopted a resolution on 15 May 1990. This resolution, among other things, determines which reformist steps are to be taken and when. The aim is to create a market environment in the CSFR, which would rationally influence the motivation and behavior of economic subjects.

The reforms are assuming a more specific shape. A number of important questions remain unresolved, however. Where complete agreement could not be achieved, the solutions remain open.

The Minimum Program

To meet the wish of a large number of our readers, let us sum up succinctly the direction which the economic reform will take according to the pertinent governmental decree. It speaks about the so-called minimum steps, among which are:

—a restrictive monetary and financial (budgetary) policy, which will be aimed at retaining a macroeconomic balance and noninflationary conditions;

—the change in ownership relations in our economy; this change will enable the establishment of new economic subjects based on private and shareholder's capital, as well as the transformation of the existing state enterprises into enterprises of a different type. This process will involve the large-scale denationalization of state property with the participation of international and domestic capital;

—the removal of the deformed price structure, the interlinking of various types of prices, and starting the liberalization of prices; the latter will be accelerated by adopting provisions related to the price changes in imported as well as in domestic raw materials, fuel, and energy, and the abolition of subsidies for retail prices for goods and services while implementing compensation for citizens for the increased costs of living;

—the accelerated implementation of the internal convertibility of our currency and the creation of a convertible currency market, which will be regulated—especially at the beginning—by some form of market control; the aim is to create a market atmosphere in which all the economic subjects will have equal access to convertible currency; imports of convertible currencies will be liberalized and currency will be rationally allocated;

—a new concept of employment and social policy;

—the creation of a concept for a state policy regarding the structure of industry, agriculture, energy resources, and ecology; pertinent documents will become a source of information for the subjects of the market economy about the direction of technological and economic developments so that they may adjust themselves to the new conditions;

—the opening of our economy to the world by making use of international economic relations.

Principal Normatives

A logically conceived chronology for implementing the reformist steps is a principal condition for the smooth progress of the reform. The agenda of the federal government meetings corresponds to this. The government will have to decide on a number of questions related to the outline of the reforms. These questions can be labeled as the **first item** of the accepted timetable for reform.

The outline of denationalization, including setting up the method for this process and creating the commissions for denationalization and the preparation of privatization, is considered the most urgent.

Conditions for foreign investors are being prepared, including the draft proposal regulating the principles of the transformation and changes to the types of ownership of national property. The government is preparing a so-called "transformation law" [transformacni zakon]. The principal question will be setting up the outline of relations between the federation and the republics under the conditions of economic reform and the new organization of central economic organs. Equally important will be the draft principles for the participation of all employees in the administration and control of enterprises of various types of ownership.

The elaboration of the outline of tax reform also belongs among the key questions of the transition to a market economy. The preparation of commercial and other laws is also on the agenda.

Simultaneously with the questions surrounding the systemic reforms, it will also be necessary to deal with the ideas regarding a solution to the specific problems of the national economy, such as the development strategy until 1992, provisions for stabilizing the economy, state policy regarding the structure of industry, energy resources, agriculture, and ecology.

The proposals made by the ministers of individual departments regarding the organization of publicly beneficial organizations will be discussed. It is anticipated that the principles for determining rental payments in state-owned apartments, housing administration, and the sale of apartments will also be discussed. The establishment of institutions which are indispensable for the functioning of the free market is an important part of the reformist "package" which in included in the **second issue** of the governmental timetable. In this connection, the establishment of the following institutions is envisaged: an office for small business, an employment office, a tax office, a stock market, a commercial court, and a system of central, regional, industrial, commercial, and other chambers.

Prices, Labor Market, Finances

The **third issue** in the timetable is a group of questions related to prices. To solve this issue, documents for the above-mentioned central price adjustment will have to be elaborated. This issue also contains the task related to the preparation of changes to procurement prices depending on the intensity of the impact caused by exchange rate changes and central interventions in prices. It also contains a draft law on the official estimation of land prices, or for its utilization, as the case may be.

Social security is a **fourth issue** in the reformist timetable. It relates to principles of requalification, the establishment of socially useful workplaces, and the organization of publicly beneficial works. It also contains the principles of the wage system and the regulation of wages, as well as regulatory taxation [regulacni zdaneni] in the sphere of wages and other questions.

The **fifth issue** is devoted to fixing the interest-rate policy, to transferring jurisdiction for fixing the interest rate to the Czechoslovak State Bank, and to solving the

problems which will arise in the management of banks and saving banks due to the administratively fixed interest rates.

The next to last issue that is the **sixth issue** in the timetable, deals with the questions of convertibility, the exchange rate, and external economic relations. The administrative redistribution of foreign currency will be replaced by a convertible-currency market and the internal convertibility of the koruna, for which foreign sources are to be exploited. The Czechoslovak koruna should be devalued as of 1 January 1991. The aim is to keep the exchange rate at 17 to 24 korunas to the U.S. dollar. In order to implement necessary interventions it will be necessary to determine the extent of foreign currency reserves in the Sate Bank.

Other provisions pertain to the system of complementary measures for the regulation and development of the trade balance and the balance of payments (customs, licenses, and money deposited for imports [dovozni depozita]) and to the implementation of political and contractual conditions for the transition to payments for goods and services in convertible currency and world market prices in trade with CEMA countries.

The **seventh issue**—and the last one in the timetable—announces the need for changes to some legislative normatives to implement the reformist measures. In connection with the progressing economic reform, this also pertains to the CSFR Constitution in those points which are regulating the role of National Committees and which anchor the legal status of communities and cities as representatives of local self-administration. From the number of legal normatives which it will be necessary to adopt, let us cite, for example, the draft law on employment and the employment fund [fond zamestnanotsti], the amendment to the labor code, and also the law on strikes, collective bargaining, and tripartite relations, the law on insurance companies, on economic competition, on price supervision by the state, and others.

The large scope of the changes awaiting our economy and state administration is apparent despite the fact that we can describe only a fraction of the reformist steps which are included in the timetable. The deadlines for the implementation of the reformist steps fall into the period of the new government's mandate. This new government, which will arise from the free elections, will formulate its standpoint to the reformist strategy and will elaborate it more deeply and in more detail.

Soviet Envoy on Relations; Condemns Past Actions

LD1406133290 Prague CTK in English 1255 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin did not exclude at today's press conference here the possibility of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Czechoslovakia by the end of this year. In his opinion the visit could take place in the framework of some international event.

Boris Pankin, who took up his office of an ambassador three weeks ago, dealt in detail with Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. He stressed he wants to develop and strengthen above all mutual confidence between both countries as he sees a certain deficit in this field. The bilateral contacts should be built on good neighbourhood, Slavonic roots of the two states and allied commitments. He welcomed deideologization of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and pointed out that neither Czechoslovakia nor the Soviet Union attempt to deliberately harm or restrict mutual relations. "We must proceed from the good in our mutual relations in the past", he said.

The Soviet ambassador further said that neither he, nor the Soviet representatives know anything about the existence or non-existence of the letter by which a group of Czechoslovak politicians was to invite the Warsaw Treaty armies, led by the Soviet Army, to occupy Czechoslovakia in 1968. He added that even if this document existed it would not have influenced considerably the Soviet leadership's decision. He described the deformed ideas of the then Soviet leadership about socialist internationalism and brotherhood of socialist countries as the major motives of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria which broke the democratization process in the country.

Boris Pankin also rejected the Soviet side's participation in the November 1989 events in Czechoslovakia which toppled the Czechoslovak Communist regime.

Answering the question of what will happen with the Moscow archives of copies of the Czechoslovak Secret Police (STB) documents, the Soviet ambassador said he will have to orientate himself in this question.

He praised the proposal of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR for the establishment of a council to control European security. The Soviet side is now studying this document. In his opinion this initiative corresponds with the Soviet ideas and the whole proposal is "extremely valuable".

Government Envoys Review Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1406212390 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 14 Jun (CTK)—The government envoys of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia met for planned talks at Milovice north of here today to review mainly the results of the first stage of the withdrawal and assess the readiness for the second one.

Lieutenant-General Rudolf Duchacek and Colonel-General Eduard Vorobyev respectively, with the two countries' government experts commissions participating, stated that by May 31, 1990, the set tasks had been fulfilled and exceeded even in some respects. 26,184 Soviet troops, 11,231 family members, 30 launching pads, 551 tanks, 859

combat vehicles and armoured carriers, 440 guns and mortars, 19 planes, 92 helicopters and eight unmanned reconnaisance planes had been withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory. Nine garrisons with 2,820 flats had been handed to the Czechoslovak side.

As to the second stage of the withdrawal by December 31, 1990, both sides stated that another 24,700 Soviet troops, 481 tanks, 836 combat vehicles and armoured carriers, 496 guns and mortars, 39 planes and 60 helicopters would be withdrawn. Czechoslovakia will get another 15 garrisons.

Another session of the two countries' government envoys will take place in the first half of August 1990.

Withdrawal Talks Continue

LD1506084890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Lieutenant General Rudolf Duchacek and Colonel General Eduard Vorobyev, envoys for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, met yesterday in Milovice for planned talks. Together they discussed the results of the first stage of Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovakia and also discussed the principles of property rights and financial settlement between the two sides. They placed emphasis on the reinvestigation of the report on ecological damage and on the occurrence of remnants of ammunition in Soviet garrisons. Rudolf Duchacek and Eduard Vorobyev also specified the second stage of the withdrawal, in the course of which 24,700 Soviet soldiers will leave our territory by the end of the year.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Alleged RAF Terrorist Viett Apprehended

LD1306085690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0541 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Alleged Red Army Faction [RAF] terrorist Inge Viett was arrested last night [12 June] in Magdeburg by a task force of the GDR Central Criminal Office, in collaboration with the Federal Criminal Investigation Department [CID] and the FRG Interior Ministry. In a statement to ADN, GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel described this as another major success in German-German cooperation. He thanked all those criminologists involved in the arrest of their splendid work.

According to the Interior Ministry, there will be a news conference in Berlin tomorrow.

The 46-year-old Inge Viett was on an FRG CID wanted list, along with 29 other alleged RAF terrorists. She is alleged to have been involved in 1974 in the murder of Berlin Supreme Court President Guenter von Drenkmann and in the kidnapping in 1975 of the West Berlin Christian Democratic Union leader at the time, Peter Lorenz. [passage omitted]

Four More Suspects Apprehended

LD1506075890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0327 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Another four suspected RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorists were apprehended in the GDR yesterday [14 June]. Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel announced early this morning that they are Monika Helbing, Ekkehard Freiherr von Seckendorff, Werner Lotze, and the former RAF member Christine Duemlein.

The temporary arrests took place in the GDR areas of Frankfurt (Oder) and Cottbus and were carried out by forces of the Central GDR Office of Criminal Investigations in collaboration with territorial units of the German People's Police. There were no incidents. The authorities thus succeeded in dealing their third blow against RAF terrorists who had gone underground within 10 days.

Monika Helbing (36) and Ekkehard Freiherr von Seckendorff (49) were detained in Frankfurt (Oder) area. Arrest warrants had been issued for both by the investigating judge at the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe. Werner Lotze (38), against whom an arrest warrant had been issued in the FRG, was also apprehended in Cottbus area. At the same time, the suspected former RAF member Christine Duemlein was taken in for questioning.

The interior minister added that further investigations into the facts of the case will be continued in cooperation with the FRG Federal Office of Criminal Investigations. Further details will be announced at an international news conference at the Interior Ministry today at 1000 [0800 GMT].

Helbing, Lotze, and von Seckendorff, in common with the arrested RAF members Susanne Albrecht and Inge Viett, are on the wanted list of the FRG security authorities. The list has now been reduced from the original 30 wanted persons to 25.

Yesterday afternoon, Interior Minister Diestel made a statement on the investigations carried out so far into the Albrecht case and on the arrest of Viett to the international press in Berlin.

Interior Minister on Stasi RAF Cooperation

LD1306201990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Cooperation between the former State Security Ministry and the terrorists was organized and maintained consistently over many years, Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel revealed in an interview on Wednesday evening [13 June] in Bonn with GDR television, speaking on the arrest of the alleged RAF terrorist, Inge Viett.

To the question of whether one could rule out the GDR still being a haven for terrorists, the minister said: "As a haven for former terrorists, that cannot be ruled out. I do not, however, want to worry people. We have knowledge of two people. These two people have been arrested. They are key figures in international terrorism. We hope that we will succeed in making further arrests."

The extradition of the two suspected terrorists can be reckoned with in seven to eight days. This was announced by Minister Dietel in an interview this evening with ZDF [FRG television second program] in which he quoted the GDR attorney general.

Former Stasi Staff Pensions To Be Cut

LD1306183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 13 JUn 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The special pension provision for former staff members of the State Security Ministry [Stasi] have been lifted by the Council of Ministers. This was announced by Labor Minister Dr. Regine Hildebrandt at the weekly news conference in Berlin today. This means that beginning 1 July, 31,000 pensions will have to be fixed anew. A transitional arrangement until the end of the year is aimed at ruling out unjustified payments, but not totally excluding the people concerned. They are to be put on an equal financial footing

with other citizens, and beginning in January next year at the latest, following a recalculation of the contributions they paid in, to be able to draw social insurance pensions.

In detail, in the case of old age and disability pensions, the amount in excess of 495 marks will be reduced by 50 percent. The maximum future amount will be 1,200 marks. Similar regulations will come into effect for widows and orphans. Claims could be partly or wholly cut if it is shown that the applicant misused his position for his own benefit or to the detriment of others. The minister stated that all the disability pensions authorized after 1 October 1989, for the named persons would be reexamined and payments will be stopped if necessary.

The minister went on to explain the pension harmonization law. The aim basically is to reach the FRG level. So far, the GDR has given no special social insurance pensions, but these now would be introduced. For this reason, every employee in the future must pay 17.9 percent of his gross income in pension, unemployment, and health insurance, on an equal basis with employers. Only in this way could a performance-related pension be guaranteed. Dr. Hildebrandt then described numerous additional provisions that all will be "completed" on 30 June. This applies equally to pensions for members of the parties and mass organizations, the state apparatus, the technical intelligentsia, the National People's Army, and the customs, as well as teachers, health service staff, employees in radio, television, and the theater, writers, artists, and members of the state circus. However, the principle of taking paid receipts into account will be adhered to.

'Pockets' of Stasi Members Reported

AU1506104890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 14 Jun 90 p 1

["p.s./D.G." report: "Secret Pockets of State Security Ministry Exist in the GDR"]

[Text] Wiesbaden—Even after the dissolution of the GDR State Security Ministry, groups of former full-time members of the Stasi state security system are continuing their struggle against democratization in the GDR. According to West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the "infiltration of democratic parties" is the primary goal of these secret underground activities. The director of the Hesse Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Geunther Scheicher, confirmed in an interview with DIE WELT "that Pockets of the State Security Ministry exist in the GDR," which do not only discuss the economic future of Stasi members. As a matter of fact, the "Stasi circles" are dealing with the question as to how parties can be infiltrated "in order to influence them finally in the spirit of the old ideology."

Scheicher also reported that the State Security Ministry has founded forwarding agencies with state money to provide jobs to Stasi members "until the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] or a successor party assumes power again." Scheicher believes, however, that not only the pockets of Stasi members pose a danger to democracy in the GDR "but also the SED cadres, whom one must not forget." Even if this cannot be proven legally, "the PDS is nothing but the SED, which has eliminated a few persons who became untenable," Scheicher stressed. What the GDR needs is something like the Central Office in Ludwigsberg of the Document Center in Berlin "so that tendencies can be stopped that might turn into a real force."

The head of the Hamburg Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Christian Lochte, and his Kiel counterpart Johnk reported that the Stasi used to constantly listen in on 800,000 telephones of prominent figures, politicians, and economic leaders, as well as of central authorities, of all laender governments and state chancellories, as well as of Offices for the Protection of the Constitution and other security services, using sophisticated technology. Lochte is convinced that Soviet secret services possess these documents as well and can use them against the FRG any time.

The GDR Council of Ministers has meanwhile adopted a law that provides for a drastic reduction of the pensions of former Stasi members. As a spokesman of the East Berlin Interior Ministry announced, Stasi pensions will be limited to 1,200 marks as of 1 July.

Wolf on Brandt's Downfall

LD1406083390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0044 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Markus Wolf, former GDR deputy minister of state security, has conceded that there was an equal amount of good and bad luck in the case of the so-called chancellor spy Guenter Guillaume. As he reveals in the second part of an exclusive interview in JUNGE WELT today, neither were the FRG Chancellory nor on any account Chancellor Brandt "the target of our work with Guillaume." The unmasking of Guillaume, who was up to 1974 adviser of former FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt, had at the time caused quite a scandal. The policitian had then even resigned.

As Wolf goes on to say, Guillaume "should never have gotten that far, because West German counterintelligence knew of his origins." According to Wolf in the GDR youth newspaper, Guillaume emigrated from the GDR toward the end of the 1950's. "The relevant authorities knew that up to then he had been a Socialist Unity Party of Germany member and that he had also been active in the trade union. As always I assumed that the other side was working efficiently. But sometimes that can be a mistake as well—which, moreover, often led us to draw wrong conclusions," Wolf said. Whom Guillaume had been intended to target, Wolf does "not yet want to say." The FRG does not know even today.

"It was not a part of our plan to topple Brandt," says Markus Wolf. "On the contrary, the policy of detente begun by him was in line with our ideas."

Even today, Wolf would tell Willy Brandt that he regretted his overthrow. "It was a bad affair." Wolf assumes, however, that the affair was a pretext to bring down the politician, for the "cover was blown at a time when Brandt was already a very controversial figure."

In another part of the interview, Wolf takes the view that the secret services would change in direct relation to the progress of detente. "But the prevention of transparency in areas of particular secrecy, which still remains customary, is certainly not a factor for stabilizing peace." Wolf proposes that some "veterans" of secret services "should come together and consider how some control can be introduced in this. For example, there could be cooperation in the war on terrorism or in cases where human life is at risk. Of course this is a difficult undertaking, and we would only be able to take a few steps in this direction, but discussion on it must begin," Markus Wolf concludes.

For the next part, JUNGE WELT advertizes Wolf's responses to the following questions: "Is Markus Wolf a Soviet citizen? Does Stasi chief Mielke still have control over the ministry? Was Hans Modrow spied on? Why did Wolf resign from his post in 1987?"

Two-Plus-Four Talks at Official Level Reported

AU1306171790 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 11 Jun 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Two-Plus-Four Talks Continued"]

[Text] Berlin—High officials of the GDR and FRG, the USSR, U.S., French, and British Foreign Ministries held another meeting of the two-plus-four talks in Berlin on Saturday [9 June]. Reportedly, these four problems were on the agenda which were agreed upon at the first foreign ministers' meeting early in May—namely, border issues, political-military issues including appropriate security structures in Europe, problems related to Berlin, and a final international settlement and the replacement of the Four Powers' rights and responsibilities. This agenda has so far not been officially confirmed. The conferees agreed to observe confidentiality. The two German states were represented by State Secretary Hans-Juergen Misselwitz and Ministerial Director Dieter Kastrup.

Meckel Previews Two-Plus-Four Conference

PM1406105690 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 13 Jun 90 p 12

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by Vanna Vannuccini; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Berlin—[introductory passage omitted] Meckel's big day comes next week when he hosts the two-plus-four conference in Berlin. We asked the minister for his forecasts about the meeting.

"There will be two points for discussion: One is the ceding of rights of sovereignty by the four powers to united Germany, which we want to happen immediately, whereas the Soviet Union would like a transition period pending the solution of all the general issues. Then there is the matter of NATO membership. Following Gorbachev's speech, which to some extent acknowledges Germany's status within NATO, I believe that the most crucial problem is still the nature of the future united Germany's relations with the East and how Germany will shoulder the GDR's present obligations."

[Vannuccini] What proposals are being discussed?

[Meckel] Several factors are being discussed. The first is united Germany's establishment of bilateral treaties with the East, and especially with the Soviet Union. A treaty with the USSR that has security, economic, and other implications—for instance, a nonaggression pact that is not simply a declaration but a genuine contractual obligation. Of course this entails changes in NATO, a corresponding agreement in Vienna on a substantial reduction of troops in Central Europe, and solutions with regard to nuclear weapons. Another factor could be united Germany's inclusion, in a consultative capacity, in a future Warsaw Pact transformed into an exclusively political organization separated from military aspects. In order for this to happen the Warsaw Pact must have undergone such a development. We shall see at the end of the year whether it is moving in this direction.

[Vannuccini] You spoke a few days ago about a "pact between the pacts." What does that mean?

[Meckel] It is an idea that I discussed in Prague and Warsaw. These three countries—the Eastern part of Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—could form a special security zone, provisionally and for a clearly defined period. Several solutions could be envisaged for this area: a nonaggression pact, troop reductions, disarmament verification agreements. It would even be possible to envisage an outright military alliance—for instance, with joint German-Polish troops.

[Vannuccini] Have you discussed this idea with the federal government?

[Meckel] I have discussed it with Genscher, who was skeptical about what stance the Soviet Union will take in this regard. However, Shevardnadze told me that the idea "is worth considering."

[Vannuccini] You have said that there are still differences between Bonn and Berlin with regard to the borders with Poland. What are these differences?

[Meckel] We want a border treaty to be established before unity. Chancellor Kohl, however, insists that it must happen afterward. This is a difference that could even call into question the simultaneous declaration on the Polish borders by the two parliaments next week. But I hope that we can reach an agreement before then.

Meckel, Genscher To Meet 17 Jun

LD1406112590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1100 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—In the next few days, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is to continue his talks on preparations for the second two-plus-four ministerial round on the external aspects of the German unification. The Foreign Ministry announced in Bonn today that Genscher will meet GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel for a talk in East Berlin on 17 June. Then on 18 June further discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, agreed in Brest, are to take place in Muenster, the city of the Treaty of Westphalia. [passage omitted]

Gysi on Negative Effects of Monetary Union

AU0806095190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Interview with Party for Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by Michael Kerbler in Vienna; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kerbler] Mr. Gysi, at the beginning of our interview I would like to play an excerpt from an interview, which you gave us exactly half a year ago in East Berlin.

[Begin Gysi recording] The people in our country have only this country, they do not have any other one, and they only have these enterprises, they do not have any others. Our task, in particular as a party which is representing the interest of the working people, must be, of course, to make sure that this does not turn into a sell-out, that the social interests of the working people are not neglected, that we do not have to worry about jobs and such things. [end recording]

[Kerbler] Half a year later, Mr. Gysi, enterprises have crashed. There are warning strikes; there is unemployment in the GDR. Is the GDR on the verge of bankruptcy—also in political terms?

[Gysi] Well, it is being brought to the verge of bankruptcy, let us put it that way. It was not necessary. One could have pursued the path of economic reform and also of monetary union. If one takes these in reverse order, it is clear that many enterprises are not efficient enough and have to close down. Some enterprises are already closing down in expectation of the events to come, and a great number of people are being dismissed. I think at the moment we have 100,000 unemployed people, and this is just the beginning. Even optimistic economic experts from the FRG expect several million unemployed by the end of the year.

[Kerbler] Economics Minister Pohl spoke of the threat of a hot autumn. Do you fear that there might be confrontations in such a hot autumn in 1990?

[Gysi] It is certainly correct that social conflict will increase in autumn of this year, because mass unemployment will be great, because people will realize that with their relatively low pensions and wages they cannot maintain their standard of living as a result of considerable price increases and the elimination of subsidies. On the other hand, I also get the impression that one intends to arrive at such a hot autumn simply by talking about it in order to prepare the GDR's annexation to the FRG at this time. You see, the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the FRG has stated that it is for all-German elections as late as 1992 or 1993—unless chaotic conditions develop in the GDR in the autumn of 1990. Then they are in favor of immediate all-German elections and of immediate accession. One need only tell this to the chancellor and to the GDR's Christian Democratic Union of Germany once. Thus I get the feeling that they are deliberately accepting this possibility so as to declare immediate accession and to organize the annexation.

[Kerbler] I would like to imply that this might not be exactly unpleasant for you, because you could expect the countereffect of having more GDR citizens vote for the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] and forget a little that the PDS's predecessor, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], is not quite without blame for the current situation; that it is not the market economy, which is the bitter remedy for the situation, that is to blame, but 40 years of SED.

[Gysi] First, everyone will take care that this is not forgotten—I am quite sure of that. In addition, we ourselves are not interested at all in having anyone forget this, because one has to say that the economic situation in the GDR was difficult, but it was not on the verge of bankruptcy. We would simply have needed more time to restructure this economy. After all, a centrally administered and planned economy is something totally different from a market economy. In my view, one cannot do this in one leap, from one day to the next. On the other hand—and this is a contentious issue in many leftist parties—I am completely against wishing for socially difficult situations, on the assumption that it will then be easier to get votes. One does not benefit from wishing for bad conditions in order to get more votes. Only election campaign parties could think so, but not parties which seriously pursue a program.

[Kerbler] The first all-German elections will probably be over in half a year. I am not asking you for your estimates of the percentage points the PDS will get, I am asking you: Will the PDS still exist then? Will the PDS be present in an all-German parliament?

[Gysi] I assume that we will be present also in an all-German parliament, even though I know that the others will make it very difficult for us and will try by all means to liquidate us. Actually, it is impossible for them to succeed.

[Kerbler] Thank you for this interview.

Gysi: Germany in NATO Unacceptable to USSR

LD1506104790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—A united Germany's unilateral and full membership in NATO is unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Party for Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi informed the press of this in Moscow today [15 June]. It is his impression that this would not achieve a majority either in the Soviet leadership or in the USSR Supreme Soviet, said Gysi, who yesterday met senior politician Aleksandr Yakovlev. Questioned on possible Soviet measures to block an all-German NATO accession, the PDS leader referred to the rights of the allies over the whole of Germany. There is as yet no peace treaty and legally no way of sidestepping the victorious powers. In his talks in Moscow, he learned that the Soviet side is concerned that, in the case of a German incorporation into NATO, the USSR might be isolated, Gysi said. [passage omitted]

In connection with developments in the Baltic, Gysi said that problems of this kind should be resolved solely by political means. At the same time he did not rule out the possibility of contacts between his party and the independent communist parties of these republics. Relations between the PDS and the CPSU are not of an exclusive nature, Gysi said.

Foreign Ministry Official on Events in Romania

LD1406141190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1356 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The state secretary in the GDR Foreign Ministry, Dr.Helmut Domke, today expressed concern to the Romanian charge d'affaires, Ioan Lupu, over the violent clashes between demonstrators and the police in Romania.

Given the present situation in Romania, it would be desirable, the state secretary said, to resolve the existing political problems by level-headed and peaceful means. The charge d'affaires replied that the Romanian Government, too, is guided by these principles.

Romberg Favors German-Polish Economic Zone

AU1206154590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jun 90 p 7

[ADN report: "Finance Minister for German-Polish Economic Area"]

[Text] East Berlin—Finance Minister Walter Romberg has come out in favor of a German-Polish economic zone along the Oder-Neisse border within the framework of a new European dimension of German unification. Such a step is in the GDR's interest, Romberg said in an interview for Radio Luxembourg (RTL) on Sunday [10 June], according to AFP. Since the "sensitive border" will be linked with a "marked difference in economic and social conditions," it should be turned into a "European economic zone" through German-Polish economic cooperation. The money that is needed for this purpose could also come from France, which has already signaled its basic readiness. At the same time, "cultural diversity" would have to be established in the economic zone, Romberg proposed.

Ireland Invites De Maiziere to EC Summit

LD1306201690 Hamburg DPA in German 1924 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Brussels (DPA)—Ireland is to invite Premier Lothar de Maiziere to the summit meeting of the EC on 25 and 26 June in Dublin. This was confirmed in Brussels today [13 June] by Irish Premier Charles Haughey, who heads the presidency of the European Council. De Maiziere will not, however, take part in the actual summit consultations on the future of the EC. This is not possible under EC regulations since the EC does not yet belong to the community.

However, Dublin invited De Maiziere to attend the official luncheon which the Irish presidency is to host on the first day of the meeting in honor of the EC heads of state and government. Haughey said that the invitation to the GDR premier is a "gesture of symbolic value," by which the EC is expressing support for German unification.

Visa Requirement for Spain To Be Abolished

LD0706204590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Travel to Spain will be visa-free for GDR citizens starting Friday. Agreements on visa-free travel now exist with all West European countries, with the exception of Spain and Portugal. This was announced to the press by the Foreign Ministry Consular Department head Hans-Jochen Vogl in Berlin on Thursday.

In connection with the soccer World Cup, Vogl said, a GDR representative will begin work in the FRG consulate-general in Milan on 11 June. This could be seen as a model for future cooperation. Consular representation could take place reciprocally in any place where the other country was not represented.

Vogel said that the GDR is striving for a "harmonization" of visa policy towards the East European states. Temporary restrictions on entry to the GDR should affect people who come as tourists or guests as little as possible. [passage omitted]

Norway Signs Accord Lifting Visa Requirements

LD1306202790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An agreement was concluded on Wednesday [13 June] between the GDR and the Kingdom of Norway on lifting the visa requirement for possessors of ordinary, official, and diplomatic passports.

The official exchange of letters was carried out in Berlin by Hans-Juergen Misselwitz, state secretary in the GDR Foreign Ministry, and Norwegian Ambassador Per Tresselt.

Accordingly, starting 1 July, possessors of ordinary, official, and diplomatic passports can enter each other's country and remain there for up to three months.

1953 CPSU Resolution Document Made Accessible

LD1506105590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0502 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—As the "Beria" document, it has haunted historians for a long time: The May 1953 resolution of the CPSU leadership on the necessity of a radical change in the GDR. Historians for the Berlin Institute for the History of the Workers Movement have now, for the first time, had access to the German translation, which lay for 37 years under lock and key in the safes of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee. In the opinion of Dr. Josef Gabert, who has been researching the "17th June" since 1978, the document is close to being a sensation.

The document, declared "strictly secret," made a detailed analysis of the political situation in the spring of 1953 and put forward "measures to improve the situation." "As a result of the implementation of a defective political tack, a highly unsatisfactory political and economic situation has arisen in the German Democratic Republic. Across the broad mass of the population...a serious dissatisfaction may be discerned," it states. The SED leadership was urged to withdraw the decisions of the second party conference (1952) and to halt the "accelerated development of socialism." The forced development of heavy industry should be reversed in favor of the consumer goods branch, military spending should be cut, and the private sector promoted. The Soviets called for a more flexible, more measured policy toward the church, the cooperatives, and the intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers To Adopt Asylum Law

AU1106113690 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 11 Jun 90 p 5

[Heribert Prantl report: "GDR Prepares Asylum Law"]

[Excerpt] Berlin/GDR, 10 June—The GDR will soon join the Geneva refugee convention and grant the right of asylum to refugees. The draft on the accession is to be adopted by the Council of Ministers next Wednesday [13 June]. So far there have been no binding regulations in this sphere in the GDR. The decision on protection and help for refugees was the responsibility of the Interior Ministry, which decided in line with political criteria.

The accession to the refugee convention is rather sensitive: About 4,000 refugees from Romania, among them many Sinti and Roma [gypsies], have come to the GDR this year, according to estimates of Almuth Berger, government representative for refugees. Over the past weeks alone up to 500 persons per day arrived by train from Sofia and Budapest. The Berlin-Lichtenberg railroad station sometimes looked like a refugee camp. State bodies fear that accession to the refugee convention could quickly bring up the number of refugees from Romania to tens of thousands.

Joining the refugee convention makes it necessary to pass an asylum law, which regulates the procedures for recognizing a person as a refugee. A document of the Interior Ministry containing elements of such a law is already available. The GDR representative for refugees wants to present provisional regualtions by mid-week. The new law on asylum procedures is to be compatible with that of the FRG. This is a problem in particular because in the GDR there are no adminsitrative structures in which one could integrate asylum procedures. The relatively few cases of asylum before the upheaval were dealt with in East Berlin's Interior Ministry and were decided in line with political expediency. [passage omitted]

Laender To Be Established by Late Summer

AU1206221590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Jun 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Elections in Laender To Be Held Before All-German Elections"]

[Text] Bonn—The timetable for the establishment of the five laender in the GDR is characterized by the following motto: "As fast as possible, and with as much reason as possible." The process will end in elections to the land parliaments—prior to all-German elections or at the same time. This was stated by the GDR Regional and Local Affairs Minister Manfred Preiss (League of Free Democrats), during a meeting with FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble (Christian Democratic Union) in Bonn on 6 June.

As Preiss announced at a news conference, the bill on the introduction of the laender, coordinated with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation which is affiliated with the Christian Democratic Union, will first be read on 21 June by the People's Chamber and adopted at the beginning of September at the latest. Thus, the borders of the laender will finally be fixed by late summer. At the local level, referendums are currently being held in 15 kreises, including Altenburg, Delitzsch, Senftenberg, and Jessen, concerning the land to which they want to belong. Decisions are to be made by the kreis assemblies on 31 July.

Preiss, who conveyed thanks to the FRG for its extensive help in creating local administrations, wants to "establish a few pillars" that might be of advantage in a united Germany. Thus, certain uniform administrative structures are to be created in Mecklenburg, Saxony, and other GDR laender.

The GDR minister expressed criticism concerning the work of the trust authority. The institution dealing with the transfer of national property is currently "a factor

that acts as a brake," and must be restructured in the interest of the local authorities as well.

According to FRG Interior Minister Schaeuble, close cooperation between Bonn and Berlin is also required in this sphere. However, every step in the GDR must be carefully fitted into the process of growing together. As Schaeuble pointed out, nobody in Germany can reverse or delay the process that was initiated on 9 November.

TV Direcor Bentzin Relieved of Post

LD1306204290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1710 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its meeting today [13 June], the Council of Ministers relieved the director-general of German Television, Hans Bentzin, of his post, the government minister announced. The failure of the Media Control Council to confirm Gero Hammer as the new director-general has been noted by the government. The relevant minister will conduct further talks.

De Maiziere Appointee Rejected

LD1306203890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Media Control Council has failed to confirm the appointment by Premier Lothar de Maiziere of Gero Hammer as director-general of television and radio. This was announced in Berlin today [13 June] by the chairman of the body, Martin Kramer, after a controversial, detailed debate at a meeting, which was partly closed to the public, and a secret ballot. Kramer stated that the reason had nothing to do with Hammer personally.

Foreign Ministry Official on Moscow Pact Talks

LD1406184190 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—The special session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, to be held in Budapest in November, is expected to focus attention on revising the character, functions and activity of the organization, Ferenc Somogyi, Foreign Ministry secretary of state for public administration, confirmed at the Budapest session of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee on Thursday [14 June].

In his briefing about last week's Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, Somogyi said that the Hungarian delegation had consistently represented the position formulated by the government and parliament. They asked for the document issued on the Moscow conference not to include references to any further talks by the member countries about the future of the organization. This accounts for the key term of the revision of the Warsaw Treaty running through the document.

The delegation, which was headed by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, pointed out that Hungary supports the idea of a single Europe and sympathizes with the Atlantic thought which regards the role of the United States and Canada important from the point of view of European security. At the same time, Hungary considers it necessary for the Soviet Union not to be shut out in the interest of the single Europe.

Ferenc Somogyi stressed that the most radical stance at the Moscow conference was that of the Hungarian delegation. They took the November 1, 1956 document of Imre Nagy's government as a basis for outlining Hungary's ultimate aim of withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty. The full dismantling of military cooperation, possibly by the end of 1991, was also raised as a relevant point, Somogyi said.

The secretary of state further said that the Czechoslovak delegation also expressed radical views on the Warsaw Treaty's future, but part of them did not prove consistent with the whole of the Czechoslovak position.

The Foreign Affairs Committee approved the report.

In the second part of the session, the committee finalized the draft resolution on the relationship between the Republic of Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty.

The initiative came from the MP [Member of Parliament] group of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ]. The draft they handed in was processed by a team of Foreign Affairs Committee members last week, and this version was now put into final form with a few amendments.

According to the draft resolution to be presented to the plenary parliamentary session, parliament will request the government to start negotiations about Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty on the basis of Paragraph 62 of the Vienna Convention, with reference to the altered circumstances since the treaty was concluded. Reaching agreement with all member countries is indicated as a desirable aim.

The document calls for the Hungarian Government to set the goal of suspending Hungary's participation in the Warsaw Treaty's military organization as the first step. It proposes the Hungarian Army should not take part in joint military exercises, and no manoeuvres be held by Warsaw Treaty troops in Hungarian territory.

The draft also proposes the government should enter into talks with the Warsaw Treaty members about a revision of bilateral agreements on friendship and mutual assistance. It would finally declare that the Republic of Hungary wants to live in peace and friendship with all its neighbours and will not allow anyone to use its territory for an offensive or threat against a third country.

The committee holds it necessary for the draft to go before the special parliamentary session.

The Foreign Affairs Committee will start hearing the ambassador candidates next week. The first will probably be Akos Engelmayer, nominated to Warsaw.

Discord Develops Over Costs of Troop Withdrawals

LD1406121890 Budapest MTI in English 1107 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 14, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet Union claims 2.7 billion roubles (50 billion forints) from Hungary as compensation for the buildings left behind by withdrawing Soviet troops. The Hungarian Government refuses to recognise the claim, arguing that the Soviet Army erected most of the buildings without the consent of the Hungarian authorities and that the buildings are of an intrinsically military character and cannot be adapted for civilian use.

In a counter claim, the Hungarians seek 10 billion forints from the Soviet Union as compensation for damage caused in Hungary and also for having neglected the maintenance of the Hungarian-owned premises which they used. The condition of these buildings worsened further during the removal of the Soviet troops.

The Hungarian side now fears that, as they have not acknowledged the Soviet claims, the Soviets will simply "swallow", as compensation, the 800 million rouble current account surplus which Hungary accumulated in 1989 in bilateral Hungarian-Soviet trade. Under a Soviet-Hungarian agreement in March, the surplus was converted to 720 million USD and it was agreed that it should be carried forward to 1991.

Another area of controversy concerns the Hungarian promise to help the USSR to sell 260 train-loads of Soviet materials. The Hungarian Army is to buy 100,000 tonnes of fuel (100 train loads) for about 1 billion forints.

From this amount, the Soviets will have to pay 100 million forints in unpaid electricity bills accumulated by the Soviet troops.

Another element of the agreed 260 train-loads is an area of debate however. The Hungarians are unwilling to buy Soviet ammunition and have only undertaken to re-export it, which is not acceptable to the Soviet Union.

The Soviets have now asked Hungary to allow them to store the ammunition on Hungarian soil until they can find foreign buyers. This proposal has been turned down by the Hungarian side because it feels that this arrangement would involve the storage of the ammunition more or less indefinitely.

The most recent debate is over Soviet efforts to sell some of the facilities they built in Hungary (airports, hospitals, etc) to JVs [joint ventures]. The Hungarian Government will discuss the matter in the next few days and will decide soon whether or not to licence these deals.

Hungary Signs Trade Agreement With EFTA

LD1406135190 Budapest MTI in English 1205 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 14, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary has now institutionalized its links with the European Free Trade Associations [EFTA]. Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, signed a statement of cooperation at the EFTA ministerial conference in Goteborg, Sweden, on Wednesday. In the statement, the countries declared their intention to deepen contacts and establish general guidelines for areas of cooperation.

At the same time, EFTA signed a similar declaration with Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The joint statement of cooperation, as laid down in the document, is likely to lead to the conclusion of a free trade agreement. Hungary has hopes for an asymmetrical free trade agreement for a fixed transitional period. Under such an agreement, customs duty exemptions would not, initially, be mutual. In Hungary's opinion, in view of the differences in levels of development, EFTA seems to be willing to allow this kind of one-sided arrangement. Once the free trade agreement is concluded, talks are likely to start on Hungary's membership of EFTA, a high-ranking member of the Hungarian delegation said.

Hungary already has a free trade agreement with Finland, an EFTA member, which would not be affected by the new free trade agreement.

The document indicates five areas in which cooperation between Hungary and the EFTA could be expanded. These are trade, industrial and economic cooperation, tourism, communications and telecommunications, and environmental protection. Concrete plans will be drawn up by a Hungarian-EFTA joint committee to be set up in the second half of the year.

The declarations signed by the three East European countries also point to areas where mutual interest is being shown in joint projects. These include the removal of barriers to trade cooperation and the orgnisation of seminars, business weeks, fairs and trade shows. It is also hoped to develop links between business organizations, including JVs [joint ventures], and to boost technical and scientific cooperation and joint tourism projects.

Horvath Discusses Border Issues in Vienna

LD1306231290 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Vienna, June 13 (MTI)—Balazs Horvath, Hungarian minister of the interior, paid a working visit to Vienna on Wednesday and held an informal discussion with his countepart, Franz Loschnak.

The Central themes of the talks were the guarding of the common border and tourist trade cooperation.

The two ministers agreed that in future the "green border" between the two countries would be controlled jointly by Hungarian and Austrian guards far more effectively with unchanged personnel.

Under another agreement, this summer five to eight new border crossing points will be opened exclusively for Hungarian and Austrian citizens.

The ministers decided to continue the negotiations on an extradition agreement in view of the expectation that the further opening of European frontiers will push the number of foreign citizens wishing to resettle to Austria and other Western countries via Hungary.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Maltese Knights

LD1306183490 Budapest MTI in English 1424 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 13 (MTI)—Hungary and the Sovereign Order of Maltese Knights have established diplomatic relations.

The related document was signed on Wednesday in Budapest by Tamas Katona, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, and Giocchino Malfatti di Montetretto, official of the Order and ambassador accredited to Vienna.

According to information from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, the forms of maintaining relations and the possible exchange of ambassadors will be the subject of further talks.

Interest Rates To Increase by 4 Percent 15 Jun

LD1406203290 Budapest MTI in English 1935 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI) - The National Bank of Hungary has forwarded a communique to the Hungarian news agency MTI saying that, in accordance with the

monetary and credit policy guidelines, from June 15 the basic issuing bank interest rate will be raised by 4 per cent and the interest rate for liquidity Central Bank refinancing credits and loans, based on adjustment to money-market interest rates, by 2 per cent.

The interest rates for all other refinancing credits (loans) following the trends in basic issuing bank interest will change accordingly.

There will be no change in interest rates for credits refinancing loans with fixed interest covered by NBH regulation No. 12/1989 concerning implementation of the monetary and credit policy guidelines for the enterprenurial sector.

Interest rates for various deposits will go up by 4 and 4.5 per cent.

Justice Minister Balsai on General Amnesty

LD1206130690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0912 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Speech by Justice Minister Istvan Balasi at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly. It is a general tradition that the legislators should enact a general amnesty in connection with an outstanding national anniversary or some national event. [passage omitted]

There are now two events, or anniversaries, which justify a general amnesty. On the one hand, the National Assembly has been formed after free elections. On the other hand, in a few days' time, we shall mark the first anniversary of the Hungarian nation's free commemoration of the deaths of the martyred associates of Imre Nagy.

Esteemed National Assembly, it follows from the nature of general amnesty that it does not constitute a criticism of the penal laws in force, and even less does it constitute a criticism of how the judges pass judgment, but rather it is a legislative gesture of pardon toward our citizens who have committed crimes.

When deciding the sphere to which the general amnesty should extend, it was necessary to consider several viewpoints. In general, what was characteristic of the general amnesty laws of the past period was that the exercise of amnesty was restrained. For the most part, it extended only to those who had committed crimes out of negligence, and to those for whom humanitarian and social considerations justified that they be given amnesty. Such considerations included old age, serious illness, pregnancy, and various family circumstances.

This also pertained to the general amnesty implemented last year. This kind of narrow, so to say symbolic, general amnesty, as opposed to an act of pardon which extends to a wide range of convicts, did not express the genuine objective of general amnesty—that is, the act of forgiveness.

However, a law which, without differentiation, gave all convicts amnesty, would be divorced from realities. We are well aware that the rising trend of crime, the deterioration of public security, justify our taking into account the personality of the convict, who might be characterized by recidivism, or recurrent recidivism, as well as the gravity and character of the crimes committed. For this reason, the bill has taken these viewpoints extensively into account.

Esteemed National Assembly, the bill which I now submit on behalf of the government for your kind approval is in line with the normal contents of general amnesty laws. For this reason, it provides for canceling or reducing the punishments meted out to those who have been given nonappealable verdicts, as an amnesty on enforcement [vegrehajtasi kegyelem]. It also provides for renouncing the state's penal demands in proceedings, which are underway or which are getting underway—this is an amnesty on procedures [eljarasi kegyelem]. It also provides for exempting those with criminal records from disadvantages.

Regarding amnesty on enforcement, the proposal regulates this, taking the kind and degree of punishment as its point of departure. It limits the complete cancellation of the enforcement of imprisonment to punishments that do not exceed one year, and it also excludes recidivists. The complete cancellation of imprisonment lasting more than one year, but not exceeding three years, pertains only to those convicted for crimes of negligence, and is justified only in cases where humanitarian and social considerations listed in the proposal prevail. In the case of convicts who do not fall under the mentioned provisions, the degree of punishment is decisive. The duration of imprisonment not exceeding three years would, therefore, decrease by one-third, and that of imprisonment exceeding three years would decrease by one-fourth.

There is justification for the complete dropping of punishments which are lighter than imprisonment, such as rigorous reformatory-educative work and fines. On the other hand, the proposal does not extend, as amnesty on enforcement, to secondary punishments. Some of the secondary punishments—a ban on participation in public affairs, a ban on engaging in a particular occupation, or a ban on driving a vehicle—serve the protection of society by restricting the rights of people who have been convicted for certain crimes, in whose case it would not be right to lift this by means of an act of amnesty.

As for amnesty on procedures, the proposal differentiates in that the amnesty pertains without any further conditions to misdemeanors [vetsegek] committed before 1 June, 1990. In the case of crimes, the general rule is that amnesty on procedures applies to penal procedures launched for crimes where the law stipulates a punishment whose gravity does not exceed three years' imprisonment. The exceptions to this are the so-called economic crimes, defined in paragraphs 1, 2, and 4 of Chapter 17 of the Penal Code, where the punishment is no graver than five years' imprisonment. In these crimes,

the judicial practice followed by the courts if characterized by the fact that even in the case where the Penal Code allows for up to five years' imprisonment, the punishments which are meted out do not exceed one-two years' imprisonment.

In the sphere of exemption from disadvantages for those with criminal records, an amnesty is justified where the law sets the waiting time necessary for exemption in terms of years. The proposal reduces this waiting time by one-half.

Esteemed National Assembly! There are crimes where, as a consequence of their gravity or their character, it would not be correct for the amnesty to extend to their perpetrators. This consideration also pertains to those whose lifestyle is characterized by the committing of crimes. For this reason, the proposal excludes from the amnesty recividists and those who are convicted or called to account for the crimes listed in itemized form. I shall refrain from listing those crimes—the detailed list, according to the proposal, is in front of you. I will, however, underline that these contain the gravest crimes related to national security, life, bodily intactness, sexual morality, prisoners' rebellions, and with due regard to their role in international crime, grave cases of drug abuse, as well as counterfeiting, and naturally robbery, too. Property theft, the most frequent form of which is car-theft, as well as pick-pocketing, is not among the gravest of crimes, however its spread is troubling the population more and more. These, precisely, are the proliferating crimes, which lead public opinion to have the impression that public security is deteriorating. For this reason, it is justified to exclude the perpetrators of these from the general amnesty.

The excluding circumstances, however, will be asserted with certain restrictions only. On the one hand, they will not pertain to the provision that exempts certain categories of convicts from the enforcement of imprisonment, not exceeding three years; these are people who are exempted for humanitarian considerations, and it would not be right to restrict this. On the other hand, it would constitute an expression of forgiveness, stemming from the general amnesty, if there were a provision that the duration in prison of convicts imprisoned for a set time, who otherwise fall under excluding circumstances, is decreased by one-eighth. This means, esteemed national Assembly, that with the exception of those sentenced to life imprisonment, everyone sentenced to imprisonment will be exempted, fully or in part, from the implementation of imprisonment, or the duration of their punishment will decrease to an extent determined by the proposal. Through this, some 12,000 convicts will receive fully or in part some form of amnesty.

From the viewpoint of public security, it is essential that as a consequence of this regulation, those partaking in amnesty will be freed not all at once, but gradually. Naturally, it also must be taken into account that certain people who are given amnesty might again commit a crime. If they commit a crime within three years [of release under amnesty], and they are sentenced by a court to imprisonment, which is to be carried out, naturally the amnesty pertaining to them will lose its force.

Esteemed National Assembly, the proposal pertains not only to those who have committed crimes. A rather large number of citizens are involved in the payment of fines for offenses, and in the conducting of procedures for offenses. Since an offense is a considerably milder act against the law, it is justified that the general amnesty should extend to the implementation of fines meted out for offenses, and to offense proceedings.

Esteemed National Assembly, several modification proposals were made in the course of the committee debate on the proposal. From among these, on my part, on behalf of government, I agree with the modification proposal of Deputy Zoltan Szokolay, which also contains the proposal of Deputy Istvan Szigethy. This says that the amnesty on procedures should not extend to crimes of abuse of office, corruption, and misappropriation which are punishable by imprisonment of up to three years. Thus the bill's provision, which would extend the amnesty on proceedings to cases of misappropriation punishable by up to five years' imprisonment, becomes null and void.

Taking all of this into account, I ask the esteemed National Assembly to adopt the submitted bill, with the modification which I have just outlined and with which we agree, and to incorporate the law on general amnesty among the laws of the Republic of Hungary. Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Approves Amnesty Bill

LD1206212690 Budapest MTI in English 1905 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 12 (MTI)—The session of the Hungarian National Assembly, which opened on May 24, ended on Tuesday in Budapest. This was also the first term session of parliament.

Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament, convened the special session of parliament for Monday, June 18. This move was initiated by the interim president, and the prime minister of the Republic of Hungary.

Parliament's House Committee is to review the tasks related to preparing the special session, when it meets on Thursday. The committee will submit proposals to parliament about the agenda.

Mr Szabad announced that on Saturday, June 16, the anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates, a day of national mourning, interim President Arpad Goncz will place a wreath at the Tomb of the Martyrs, with military honours, and parliament will also be represented at the event.

On Tuesday, MPs approved, with 207 votes for, the bill on amnesty, with the amendment motion submitted by Zoltan Szokolay (Hungarian Democratic Forum).

The government submitted the bill on general amnesty on the occasion of the founding of parliament, and in commemoration of the death of Imre Nagy and his associates.

The legal measures decrees on canceling, or mitigating, certain punishments handed down with a legally binding verdict. It determines the circumstances which exclude the granting of amnesty. Thus, under the approved bill, amnesty will not extend to those condemned for spying, or surrendering state or military secrets, multiple recidivists, those condemned for homicide, for crimes resulting in lasting disability, serious harm to health, for bodily harm endangering life, or causing death, for grave bodily harm committed with particular cruelty, for rape, for deviant sexual acts, for terrorism, for hijacking airplanes, for drug-related crimes, for counterfeiting of money, for robbery, for mutiny that results in death, or that is accompanied by extremely grave consequences, for the use of force against official or service functuaries resulting in wilful murder, or for those committed for pickpocketing.

On the proposal of Zoltan Szokolay, MP of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, procedural amnesty will not extend to persons condemned for the crimes of abuse of office, bribery and negligent management, and whose verdicts were imprisonment for up to three years.

The law restricts the full cancelling of imprisonment terms for those whose sentence is less than one year, but it excludes recidivists from under this measure. In certain very justified cases, imprisonment can be fully cancelled also in case of verdicts of one to three years imprisonment, for humanitarian reasons.

Under the terms of the approved law, all persons condemned to imprisonment, who number some 12,000, will be granted some sort of differentiated form of amnesty, with the exception of those condemned to life imprisonment.

Democrats Warn Against Signing Socialist Petition

LD1206194390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] In today's local paper, the Dunaujvaros organizations of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], in a joint and open letter, call upon the population not to sign the petitions of the Socialists [Hungarian Socialist Party] which urge a referendum, or to think over thoroughly what they are giving their signature to. The letter calls the action a danger threatening our newly born democracy, which has difficulty in taking shape—one which interferes with legislative work and delays self-government elections, which have already been delayed. Those who, in the country's interest, renounce their right to elect the president of the republic in favor of the legitimate parliament, bear witness to wise and careful thinking, reads—in conclusion—the open letter of the Dunaujvaros FIDESZ and MDF organiations.

Cultural Minister Andrasfalvy on Tasks

AU1306094190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Cultural Minister Bertalan Andrasfalvy by "M.I."; place and date not given: "Release Is Not A Limitation"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Is an educational and cultural government program necessary at all? Should we not leave it to the institutions in question to implement viable concepts? If politics is the assertion of the will of the public—Bertalan Andrasfalvy answered his own question in this program speech delivered at the Cultural Committee of the National Assembly—then it is obvious that we cannot give up guiding the cultural sector, precisely in order to ensure that the public will is asserted. What kind of changes are needed in the Public Education and Culture Ministry and its leadership for this goal? We asked Bertalan Andrasfalvy.

[Andrasfalvy] Just as higher politics and peaceful transition set out to change the regime to a course of continuity, without upheavals, the same way is advisable to avoid the obstacles hindering steady activity and working conditions at the ministerial level, too. Moreover, we must also preserve a sort of continuity. As for the Education and Culture Ministry, Administrative State Secretary Karoly Manherz is a personal guarantee for this. He supervised both higher education and public education matters in the cultural ministry headed by former minister Ferenc Glatz, so he has a broad view of matters, including international contacts.

["M.I."] That is all, however. All the other deputy ministers left the ministry. The first political state secretary candidate of the Christian Democrats has resigned, and his successor is also a person from the "outside." There is almost general uncertainty at the level of main department heads and department heads in the ministry. The question, therefore, is urgent: What changes are expected in the ministry?

[Andrasfalvy] We do not intend to carry out spectacular changes. Just like in the economy, however, we want to give a certain proportion of organizational and guiding roles to the lower levels and to ventures. Efficient work does not need many people. There are people—representatives of the old regime—whom it would be difficult to keep in their jobs in any case because their continued activity would lead to attacks. Such rationalization connected with a government change is international practice, but I stress: Their release from their jobs is not the result of their record. We must also release quite a few people because some functions will simply cease to exist in the ministry. Among other things, I mean here the censorship apparatus made up of quite a few people. We have different concepts concerning the supervision and guiding of the cultural sector, and therefore, we must adjust the staff of experts to our own concepts and goals. [passage omitted]

["M.I."] Universities and colleges will obviously carry out radical changes. Public education, however, also needs renewal. What changes do you regard as necessary?

[Andrasfalvy] Our goal is to see that young people find their aim in life, profession, and home in Hungary by developing their talents and gifts. Of course, this demands teachers who enjoy respect and appreciation, as well as schools where the students go happily. The basis for all this must be laid at the elementary level. [passage omitted]

["M.I."] What other ministries do you regard as important for cooperation?

[Andrasfalvy] Because I regard the family as the most important workshop for education and learning, with direct responsibility on the part of both parents, and because this is closely related with social policy, we must definitely coordinate some concepts with the Welfare Ministry. For example, it would be welcomed to see mothers educate their children themselves at least up to the age at which their children attend kindergarten. [passage omitted]

Social Democrats Blame Interior for Election Loss

LD1506021990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] A significant announcement was made by Anna Petrasovits at today's joint news conference of the MSZDP [Hungarian Social Democratic Party] and the Independent Social Democratic Party [FSZDP]. She said that although the gathering of evidence is still in progress, there is widespread suspicion that the No.3/iii subdepartment of the Interior Ministry also had a part in causing disarray among the Social Democrats.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] Political fire was concentrated on us even after the election, the chairwoman said. The only question is why a sledgehammer was used to crack a nut. The social democratic forces in the country must be brought together. This is the stance arrived at by the party, after its leadership crisis—the party that, wishes to be the constructive opposition to the governemnt. Anna Petrasovits said that the MSZDP wants to settle its relationship with other parties, and it is only with the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] that the MSZDP's relations are strained.

Speaking about trade unions, she said that the MSZDP must be everywhere where the interests of the workers are discussed—therefore the MSZDP's trade union section has been formed; it is just that they do not negotiate officially with the MSZP.

During the joint news conference, Ferenc Kitzinger announced his resignation from the post of FSZDP acting president because he realized that it was only together with Petrasovits that they can find the key to the path of the movement. On being asked, he said that the membership will decide about the roughly 100-strong FSZDP, if it will become a platform or dissolve itself. [end recording]

Environment Committee Receives New Officials

LD1406082290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] The Environment Protection Committee of parliament has elected a new chairman and secretary because, in accordance with the National Assembly's decision yesterday, a minister or state secretary cannot be a member of a parliamentary committee. Thus, former Environment Protection Committee Chairman Miklos Lukacs was released from his post and Nandor Rott was elected in his place. Former Committee Secretary Mrs. Laszlo Tarjan was replaced by Gyula Pasztor. At the committee session, biologist Janos Vargha drew attention to new environment protection issues such as the French proposal, according to which, in exchange for a new block to built possibly in Paks electricity would be produced there for West Europe.

Media Committee Discusses TV, Radio Issues

LD1406082490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Anna Lengyel report from National Assembly Radio, Television, and Press Committee session—live]

[Summary] The Hungarian television chairman will be appointed by the premier by 15 July. The premier will also publish the names of the television committee. The committee did not discuss the names of the leaders of the MTI and the Hungarian Radio. The deputies were told that the frequencies needed for the possible fourth channel of Hungarian Radio exist but are under moratorium. Regarding the third channel of Hungarian television, half of the frequencies at present serve military aims, but after the withdrawal of Soviet troops it will be possible to decide how the frequencies can be used for civilian purposes.

Siwicki: Pact Could Be 'NATO's Partner'

LD1506105990 Warsaw PAP in English 0953 GMT 15 Jun 90

[By PAP reporter Jerzy Hernik]

[Text] Berlin, June 15—A one-day meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Committee of Defence Ministers drew to an end after adopting a joint communique on Thursday [14 June].

The participants discussed endowing the structure of the Warsaw Treaty with a strictly defensive character, reducing conventional arms and Armed Forces and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from member countries. The possibility of endowing relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO with a non-confrontational character also ranked prominently.

The Polish representatives, National Defence Minister Gen. Florian Siwicki and Vice Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz told PAP that the Warsaw Treaty was necessary and still had a future, provided that fundamental changes take place within it, ones adjusted to the transformations taking place in Europe and the East Bloc.

These changes will generally head in the direction of providing the Warsaw Pact with a more political nature which in turn will bring about new ways of its operation. This, however, cannot be a supra-national pact in which membership would be tied with a limitation of national sovereignty.

"We think that this should be a consultative pact, that is why deep changes are necessary in the functioning of its military structure. It is not sure, for example, if Hungary will remain in it. There will however be room for us in it as long as it covers a large group of states. In the light of the principle of full partnership, this structure will, however, have to reflect the coalition character of the pact in the broad understanding of the term," Onyszkiewicz said.

"The still existing feeling of common interests is the foundation for the further existence of the Warsaw Treaty. The point is that together we can have greater influence on the process of building European security than alone. Nonetheless, it is necessary to adjust the pact to contemporary needs so that it can function as NATO's partner," Gen. Siwicki said for his part.

Asked about East German Disarmament and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann's initiative on creating a joint Polish-German brigade, the two replied that Poland has acknowledged the proposal and is looking into it in depth. "We do not want to do something we would have to correct later on. This step is so important politically, though only a symbolic one, that we cannot allow it to fail," Onyszkiewicz said.

Bush-Gorbachev Summit Compared With Yalta

AU1306115590 Warsaw TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 10 Jun 90 pp 4, 5

[Statement by Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, political writer and former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY; in Washington on 2 June: "Will A Multipower Pattern Emerge?"]

[Text] The Washington summit is occurring at a period when the face of the world is changing, and new formations are emerging from it, which, after some time, will coalesce once again to last for decades, perhaps half a century.

A similar period accompanied the Yalta conference 45 years ago, or, to be more exact, the three successive conferences by the Big Three (Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam), who divided Europe among themselves without the participation of others.

In the minds of Poles, who lost their independence and one-third of their territory, Yalta has created an understandable syndrome of fear of any deals between great powers that are made at the expense of small countries.

It is difficult, however, to perceive any analogies between the Crimea and Washington meetings other than the one whereby both conferences took place during a historic breakthrough. In Yalta, three victorious allies met; in Washington, two superpowers are meeting. The concept of superpowers as two opposite poles in the modern world arose during the 1950's, when nuclear weapons led to an enormous disparity between the U.S. and Soviet military potentials, and between those of remaining countries great and small. Only these two powers produced arsenals of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the adversary and his allies, in other words half the world. Therefore, the long-lasting world peace has merely been based on a mutual fear of such a possibility.

The major and most important topic of the Washington summit, therefore, is a future deal concerning a bilateral armaments reduction by both superpowers. Because the military power of the United States is Europe's only guarantee against Soviet nuclear blackmail, the United States is conducting the bilateral arms reduction talks with the approval of and in close concert with its allies. On the other hand, Gorbachev now represents only the USSR.

In Yalta, the Big Three withdrew their recognition of the Polish Government in London, and hence deprived Poland of its statehood. Neither the defeated Germany, nor the remaining countries of Central and East Europe possessed this statehood. On the other hand, in Washington, Bush and Baker said in advance that the only decisions that can be reached during talks with Gorbachev concern weapons reductions and a bilateral economic agreement. Anything else can be discussed, but decisions can only be made with the participation of the relevant parties. This also applies to the question of Lithuania and German unification. None of these points on the agenda can be settled by means of a bilateral agreement. An exchange of views is as far as it has gone.

Bush tried to compel Gorbachev to seek a solution to the conflict with Lithuania by means of dialogue, telling him what consequences a use of force would involve. In the present context, any deal between the superpowers concerning Lithuania would be unthinkable.

The second major topic of the summit was a united Germany's place in the present structure of military alliances. A matter of vital importance for the United States is the future Germany's membership in NATO and the continued presence of U.S. forces on West German territory. However, Gorbachev prefers a neutral united Germany. The final decision, however, is up to the Germans themselves. No one can impose on them one solution or the other by force. Chancellor Kohl supports the U.S. view perhaps for tactical reasons, in order to guarantee for himself strong U.S. support during the present phase. However, if public opinion polls are to be believed, the overwhelming majority of the German population (72 percent) is in favor of a pullout of U.S. troops.

There is one more fundamental difference between Yalta 1945 and Washington 1990: Yalta was dominated by Stalin. He exercised absolute and indivisible power over the Soviet leviathan. At the beginning of 1945, the Red Army's involvement still seemed necessary in order to gain a final victory over Hitler, and Roosevelt strove for Stalin's participation in defeating Japan. Today Gorbachev's position is very weak, although the USSR is the greatest military power apart from the United States. At the same time Gorbachev, as USSR president, landed near Washington, Yeltsin, as the newly elected president of Russia, launched a frontal assault on Gorbachev's position and announced a separation of the Russian republic from the center of power in the Kremlin.

If the USSR's domestic development leads to even a temporary paralysis of the Soviet military machine, the threat that NATO has been facing will weaken. That would mean a considerable weakening of the influence of the United States, perhaps the end of its presence in Europe. Instead of a balance based on two superpowers at opposite extremes, decentralization would occur, with the emergence of several large and equal centers of power.

Apart from the United States, therefore, there would be an integrated EC, with Germany as its strongest component, plus Japan. The domestic development of events will determine whether a single state, or a union of states—the heirs of the USSR—will become the fourth force, much weaker economically than the rest.

Hence, the twilight of the superpower era is at hand. Will the new arrangement, in which the influence of the United States and USSR or the successors of the USSR will diminish, guarantee Poland greater security? Everything will depend on which way the united Germany goes and on what the evolution, or rather the revolution, on our eastern flank brings. In view of the uncertainty of the future, one should avoid anything that enhances and maintains mutual hostility between Poland and its neighbors, and seek reconciliation on all fronts, based on a mutual respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of borders.

Jaruzelski Returns From 'Fruitful' Spain Visit

LD1406203790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Statement by President Wojciech Jaruzelski upon return from official visit to Spain at the Okecie Airport in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Text] It was a very fruitful visit, in every aspect and feature I would say. Politically, it enabled us to bring closer the points of view on development in our countries and to find much similarity in the methods and the style of resolving issues. The Spanish are watching the Polish changes with much attention, and I can probably say that they find it greatly satisfying. Indeed they express deep approval for the methods, which to some extent remind them of the road they themselves had traveled. For us, on the other hand, this confirms the correctness of this method. I also think that an exchange of experiences would also be useful in the future, so as to enable us to make mutual use of these.

As far as economic cooperation is concerned, I see great potential. So far we have simply been underestimating Spain, if I may put it so, and the Spanish have probably been underestimating us. We are two big European countries with great economic potential, although Spain is in a much better situation, with a higher national income and a great acceleration—in fact, lately one could almost speak of a leap—a great modernization of the Spanish economy, even its expansiveness, its very extensive links with the world economy. For us also this is a great opportunity to expand cooperation with this country, which is going through this development. The talks I held there with a large group of industrialists and economic figures—minister [word indistinct] Trzeciakowski also held talks there—I also talked to the premier... well, a certain idea has already emerged and even some specifics—I will not go into the details right now—which show that we could find very interesting partners in various fields. I know, for instance, that there already is a preliminary agreement in telecommunications. They are becoming very seriously involved in the modernization of our telecommunications network. Then there is the food industry and many other [words indistinct].

In international affairs, one could again say that we lie at the opposite ends of Europe, but as two large countries, as countries which pursue active foreign policies, as countries which count in their alliances and which have no conflicting issues between them, we could create a kind of a bridge, one of the bridges that bring East Europe and West Europe closer together. We spoke about this against the background of the relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO—after all, we had just come back from the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow—and I saw there many components which make it possible in relations between Spain and Poland to create this rapprochement

between the two treaties and to transform them from instruments of confrontation into instruments of cooperation, accord, and dialogue.

Finally I enjoyed many let's say purely personal impressions (? or even) emotions—the great hospitality, the warmth, the interest in Poland. It is a fine country, a country of many great traditions. What is noteworthy, however, is the ability to reconcile tradition and progress, the preservation of traditions while at the same time moving ahead, and—what is especially important here—that a country which has been so painfully torn apart, has today turned over the page, and in many conversations I heard the statement: Let historians deal with the history and the past, we have to think about the future and work for the future. You can also see that at every turn.

Commentary Examines Conflict Within Solidarity

AU1206163590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 6 Jun 90 p 3

[Krzysztof Pilawski commentary: "Two Boys Who...."]

[Text] "Do the Kaczynski twins want to become president? No, they want to be Walesa!" This is just one of the numerous political jokes that are circulating in Warsaw. Times are grim and there is little to laugh about, just like the activities of the twins, who quite probably have their most amusing roles behind them. Here I am thinking about the roles of Jacek and Placek in the children's film, "Two Boys Who Stole the Moon."

The Kaczynski twins are Walesa's closest advisers. It was their encouragements that led the Solidarity chairman to launch an attack on the presidential office. The opening gambit failed miserably. Recent public opinion poll results show that if Walesa stood as presidential candidate he would not only lose to Mazowiecki, but also to Jaruzelski.

The spontaneous action launched by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC on its own, did not produce the desired results. A change of tactics was adopted. A Center Accord was formed. This sees its success not in any sensible political program, but in the person of Lech Walesa, and the so-called acceleration of changes (read: the complete elimination from public life of the remnants of the "roundtable" accords, and the abandonment of the evolutionary road, in place of "axes" and "summary tribunals," "decrees," and "a war of everyone with everyone").

The activities of the closest circles grouped around Walesa met with a cool response from the moderate Solidarity wing. Mazowiecki warned against a "Polish hell," and Michnik and friends at the GAZETA WYBORCZA poured cold water on the excited radicals.

This state of things could not be allowed to remain without a reaction. TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has begun a savage attack on the government and Solidarity's so-called secular left wing. Every political fact is used in this campaign and serves as an argument to support the correct thesis of the saving role of the chairman, and the need to accelerate changes. "They are wrong to try and undermine the authority of Lech Walesa. After 27 May, it became clear that the concept of maintaining the bankrupt accord of the "roundtable" (this is a favorite concept of GAZETA WYBORCZA and RZECZPOSPOLITA), was rejected by society. Walesa's position has strengthened. If the government wants to survive, it must think of speeding up the changes," writes Jacek Maziarski.

According to the TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC journalists, the railway strike confirmed the election results: one has to speed up. If not, the government will be changed. There is somebody to replace it. "Regardless of the government's apprehensions, strong support for a new authority is materializing. After the crisis in May, one cannot pretend that it does not exist," writes Maciej Zalewski.

The core of this support is of course the Center Accord. It is playing a totally open game and its intention is clearly evident. Recently, a new element has been added. Formerly, the Kaczynski twins talked of dividing Solidarity into two streams—namely, a right wing and a left wing. Now they are no longer talking about division, so much as the total elimination of those whom they suspect of "crypto-communism." The sacking of Henryk Wujec and the threat that now hangs over Adam Michnik have nothing to do with pure coincidence, it is an element of this game. The new rightist grouping around the chairman is now supposed to set the appropriate tone for Solidarity, and all criticism and actions that are not imbued with this "uniformity" are to be eradicated.

I agree with Zalewski, a new force is in the making . It has nothing to do with support for the government, however. It is a rival.

Government Spokeswoman on Current Political Issues

LD1306145390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Statement by government press spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a news conference in Warsaw on 13 June—recorded]

[Text] The government believes that all forms of support for its activities, support for very difficult reforms, which are currently taking place in our country, are a good thing. Of course, the government (?is also for acceleration). In what way, however, does the person proposing acceleration see this acceleration precisely, and this is often (?not done), particularly regarding the Center Accord, which...in fact, the only acceleration it proposes is the speeding up of presidential elections. The government also sees the need for political acceleration, work on a new constitution, parliamentary elections, and presidential elections, which it would be good to hold in spring next year.

Walesa Appeals to Slupsk Railway Workers

LD1306231590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Statement by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa following three-hour meeting with railway workers in Slupsk; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Let us believe in each other. Let us believe that we will bring order to this country. We will bring order to this railway of ours, but, well, let us give ourselves a chance. Give yourselves a chance, not Walesa, not the minister, not the premier, give yourselves a chance! If you do not give yourselves a chance, then do not demand that things be better in this country. I appeal and ask you—we must behave in solidarity and in an organized fashion. That which you propose now is intelligent. I have signed, and I will work together with you so that you attain everything. Thank you, and I apologize for everything that was wrong. [applause and whistling]

Disclaims Conflict With Mazowiecki

LD1406031690 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 13—Lech Walesa met here today [13 June] with Senator Jerzy Stepien and Professor Jacek Wozniakowski who had taken part in a political meeting held in Krakow on June 10 at the initiative of Jerzy Turowicz.

Stepien and Wozniakowski conveyed the document adopted there to Walesa and briefed him on the course of the discussion underlying that the meeting was not directed against the Solidarity leader.

They also expressed desire that political disputes in Poland should keep the character of programmatic differences and not be personal struggles.

Walesa came out against the idea to shorten the tenure of the present parliament by more than a half and was for holding early elections next spring.

Discussed were also the latest political developments in Poland.

Following the meeting its participants told newsmen in part:

Lech Walesa: We are building pluralism, we are building a new Poland. Nobody has proceeded in this direction before us, hence numerous misunderstandings emerge. A part of society is upset, another part is being awaken.

I have some grievances against press. For instance, on and on I learn from the television that there is a conflict between Lech Walesa and the premier. I repeat: No conflict exists, but there are some things which I, as a unionist, have to present in a somewhat different way. This is no conflict.

I support all initiatives that broaden pluaralism structurally. Basing on this I supported the "centrum" initiative. I would support the Krakow initiative on this principle, but this initiative is still unclear.

Jacek Wozniakowski: All of us have to learn democracy, to learn pluralism, cooperation and to learn that in long term various views, opinions on proposals have to meet somewhere, come to terms and shape out well.

I have known Lech Walesa as his editor for a long time now and I have always had the impression that if we talk for a while, we can really understand each other quite easily. One has only to make some steps forward and be able to assess the situation of the man so terribly occupied with a great number of various matters and torn with so many opinions that circulate around and come to him.

Holds News Conference

LD1306232290 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Slupsk, June 13—The weekly conference of Lech Walesa held here today [13 June] was attended by numerous Polish and foreign newsmen as well as by members of the National Protest Committee of Railwaymen and the participants in a hunger protest during the railway strikes in May.

I promised to hold this press conference here, among railwaymen, and their problems will be the main topic of this meeting, Lech Walesa said at the beginning of the conference.

I want to explain so that there are no doubts, he continued, that I never promised to settle anything. But I did say as the Solidarity leader that I will do everything to have your justified claims settled. And today I want to make account of this.

Negotiators authorized by Walesa who had taken part in the talks with the government side arrived at the conference as well. They presented in detail the course of the Warsaw negotiations which resulted in a joint communique signed by three leaders of the trade union organizations.

Lech Walesa expressed his surprise at foreign newsmens reports to the effect that he fights against Premier Mazowiecki and the government, that he provokes destability.

This information is untrue, Walesa stated. I was astonished to learn yesterday that I had allegedly said in an interview for LE MONDE that the government has no support. And I said that the government has no basis. Support and basis are two different terms.

In reply to questions on the course of the economic reform in Poland the Solidarity leader said: The Polish reform is difficult. We have paid for our ineffectiveness, both of the unions and the government. All of us have paid. We treat it as a lesson for all of us.

It is a wrong thing that it happened to railwaymen. It was too expensive. In future we must know what to do, we must see harms occurring in this country and mend them

in common effort. But all issues should be settled in a way Poland can afford, Walesa said.

During the conference Walesa was asked a question concerning rumours about waging a war against the Jews who allegedly took over all key posts in Poland.

"I know this question. But it would be the gravest mistake if we got into fights of this type, if we forgot that pluralism means also the opening to different social groups if we created a frontline in this matter," Walesa said.

"Such a struggle may only have a bad ending. I propose that we have a pluralistic Poland with room for everyone providing he implements what is needed by Poland and does it well," he said.

"I am not a Jew, so I can talk about it. I have never been anti-Jewish and I do not think that todays Jews in Poland were a problem, or that they harmed Poland. Majority of these people have been building Poland and they have great attainments in it. In connection with that, let us seek solutions, because such a putting of the matter will neither bring honour to Poland nor prove to the world that Poland is pluralistic," the Solidarity leader concluded.

Says Poland 'Framed' at Yalta

LD1406194390 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—Before his departure today for a session of the International Labour Organization [ILO] held in Geneva now, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa told PAP:

"I count on something more than just participation in the ILO session. I want to tell the world not to look for conflicts in Poland because they are an ordinary thing, and not to look for justification of their reluctance to cooperate. I can hear excuses that the government is in conflict with Walesa or somebody else and therefore it is not worth to do business. These are only excuses and fault-finding.

"This is what I want to tell the world and also that we have fought for freedom with our own hands although we had been framed by Yalta (agreements). And they have to understand that they are resoponsible for our difficulties, that it was the world that framed us and therefore, now, they have to support us in our reforms."

Walesa added that ILO is a forum where many issues can be solved or improved.

Demonstrationers Protest Nuclear Plant

LD1206194790 Warsaw PAP in English 1744 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 12—The Agreement for Alternative Energy staged a demonstration against the construction of the "Zarnowiec" nuclear plant on the streets of Gdansk today [12 June].

Participants in the demonstration protested against the idea to create an international consortium, chiefly formed by French and Belgian enterprises, which would finish the construction of the "Zarnowiec" nuclear plant.

Further on Miners at Victory Square Rally 14 Jun

AU1406143390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1327 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Political Life—Meeting in Front of the Government Headquarters"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—On Thursday, June 14, around 11:30 hours local time [0830 GMT], Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president elect, addressed from the balcony of the Government Headquarters more than 5,000 people miners from many mines throughout the country, other citizens from the counties of Braila, Buzau, Constanta and numerous other localities in the vicinity of Bucharest, who, concerned over the acts of vandalism committed by extremist elements on the day and night of June 13, came to Victory Square to back the government.

They carried boards expressing solidarity with the action taken by the Romanian authorities to detect the ones responsible for the acts of vandalism and to establish peace and order in the country, which should engage in honest work for its redress.

The chairman of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, Ion Nabau, took the floor to read the federation's appeal to all miners in the country, urging them to show solidarity only to contribute to establishing peace in the country. The miners throughout the country already on their way to Bucharest were requested to come to Victory Square while those still at home were requested to remain there as the situation in the capital city was under control.

Taking the floor was also the chairman of the Free Trade Union of the "Republica" works, Mircea Dulgheru, who expressed the solidarity of the capital's workers with the actions taken by Romanian authorities to establish order and peace in the country. An appeal was read by the "New Romania" Centrist Group blaming the acts of vandalism in the Romanian capital on June 13, during the day and in the night, and requesting all political parties and groups to show a sense of responsibility in these particularly difficult moments and to support the government in establishing public order both in the capital and in the country.

Deputy Cazimir Ionescu and Senator Dan Iosif also addressed the meeting referring to a number of acts of vandalism committed in the capital city the previous day and appealed to the people attending the meeting to show their solidarity with the government, to no longer tolerate barbarious acts against the people.

Chitac Removed, Ursu Named Interior Minister

AU1406143190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Upon the prime minister's proposal, Romania's President Ion Iliescu (?issued a decree) according to which, today, 14 June 1990, Colonel General Mihai Chitac was released from his position as minister of interior. Doru Viorel Ursu was appointed to that position. In his capacity as a lawyer, Doru Viorel Ursu was a military judge and the president of the Bucharest Military Tribunal. Mr. Ursu was the president in the first part of the Sibiu series of trials. The new interior minister is 36 years old; he is married and has three children.

Taking up his new responsibility, Doru Viorel Ursu informed Prime Minister Petre Roman that he wishes to set up a number of meetings with students. The prime minister asked him to adopt a number of appropriate measures concerning the events of 13-14 June. These measures should be in accordance with the law, permanently ensure public order, consolidate the state of security of citizens, and prevent and avoid all actions against democratic institutions.

Daily Asks Government for Help Against Occupiers

AU1406175190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1550 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Media: Occupied ROMANIA LIBERA Applies for Government's Intervention"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/6/1990—The Steering Committee of daily ROMANIA LIBERA announces that the daily's editorial offices were occupied by a group of people who declared they were printing workers. A staff member was ruffled. The office of the daily's executives was ransacked. Later on, a group of miners took possession of the editorial board's corridor upsetting the activity of the staff.

Seeing themselves unable to ensure the publication of the daily, the editorial board applied to the government, in the name of the freedom of the press, to take urgent steps.

Miners Ask for Ban on ROMANIA LIBERA

AU1406175490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1602 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/6/1990—Miners expressly demanded a ban on the publication of "ROMANIA LIBERA," a newspaper which, in their opinion, has only instigated to hatred and disorder.

The demand was formulated by engineer Nicolae Camarasescu, from the mine of Aninoasa, and Gheorghe Nistor, from Uricani, who spoke on behalf of all miners in Romania at a meeting between their representatives and journalists and printers held at the headquarters of the Printers' Trade Union in the Free Press House in Bucharest.

The only journalist present on behalf of the incriminated newspaper was Corneliu Vlad, the only staffer found inside the "ROMANIA LIBERA" offices.

R. LIBERA, DREPTATEA Not Published

AU1506100290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0904 GMT 15 Jun 90

["Mass Media—ROMANIA LIBERA Has Not Come Out"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1990—ROMANIA LIBERA has not come out on Thursday [as received] morning after a demonstration in the free press square the day before of employees of the printing works who chanted "Jos Bacanu" (Down with Bacanu—the editor in chief), "Jos si Paler" (The Honorary Director), "Nu Mai Tipariti DREPTATEA (Don't Print DREPTATEA). The evening paper of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party has not come out either.

Similar claims were formulated Thursday morning by a group of miners of the Jiu Valley who came to the square to ask, in the name of all the miners, a ban on ROMANIA LIBERA which, in their opinion, did nothing but instigate to disorder.

During the same day, the steering committee of this daily protested against the occupation of the editorial office by a group of miners and asked the government to take immediate action in the name of the freedom of the press.

In his turn, the leader of the Free Trade Unions of the "publications" section of the Bucharest Printing Works protested against the way in which ROMANIA LIBERA and DREPTATEA dailies, BARICADA and "22" weeklies (the latter edited by the Group for Social Dialogue) present reality, fomenting a climate of tension and suspicion. He also said that the printing workers would no longer print those publications unless they frontpage their disapproval of the content of the respective papers and magazines.

Heavy Damage Estimated at TV Station

AU1406144590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1349 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—According to estimations, the damage done to the Television Headquarters by extremist elements stand at 4-5 million lei and 2 million dollars. The Film Library was gutted and 200 thousand films burnt out, 15 editing rooms were ransanked and so was the medical consultation room, wherefrom all instruments were stolen. Offices were devastated, radio and tv sets were stolen, installations were disrupted. Access ways into the Television Building are completely destroyed.

Interior Ministry on 13-14 Jun Ministry Attack

AU1506095690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] The Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior has issued the following note: During the night of 13 to 14 June 1990, the aggressive extremist groups did not succeed in forcing themselves into the building of the Interior Ministry headquarters. Until the arrival of the Dational Defense Ministry units, the defense of this building was ensured by the troops that were inside the Interior Ministry building.

Demonstrators 'Protected' From People's 'Rage'

AU1406165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1610 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Political Life—Situation Under Control in University Square"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—Miners, police and numerous civilians continued operations for keeping the Bucharest University Square under control on June 14 at noon. Persons there identified as belonging to associations that demonstrated in the square until not long ago, are taken in police cars to be protected against the population's rage.

Military Council Bans Army Action Committee

AU1406185490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Statement issued by the Higher Military Council of the Defense Ministry in Bucharest; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Given the serious circumstances created in Bucharest by fanatical and extremist groups, which, through violence, tried to overthrow the country's leadership, which was elected freely and democratically on 20 May, the Higher Military Council of the Defense Ministry acknowledges the Romanian Government's 14 June 1990 decision, which examines the measures adopted in response to an appeal by a group of military personnel in various Army units that calls itself the Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army, and our ministry's request to take appropriate measures to halting this committee's activity. The Higher Military Council of the Defense Ministry has examined the Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army's activity, the situation created through the communiques this council issued, and other materials the press recently published, reaching the following conclusion:

In February 1990, certain cadres in a number of military units, during political instability at the time, presented an appeal containing 13 points to the government and issued this appeal. Later, meetings between these cadres and government representatives, including the prime minister, took place, during which the appeal was accepted. In the following period, these cadres, initially organizing themselves in the Initiative Group for the Democratization of the Army, violated the provisions of military laws and regulations and took actions without consulting or having the approval of the competent forums of the Ministry of National Defense, generating confusion, instability, and distrust. The measures this group, which later called itself the Committee for Action for the Democratization of the Army, proposed were

aimed at dismantling certain structures with functions and duties essential to ensuring the management and combat ability of the Army, creating certain so-called democratic bodies in military units—which should not include commanders—attracting Army personnel to support the Timisoara Proclamation, and removing hundreds of senior Army cadres to reserve duty.

Likewise, the actions of the Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army inspired the appearance of other groups of cadres, which, through their proposed objectives and their actions, violated the norms of Army behavior and encouraged the appearance in various press organs of many articles that denigrated the Army. To draw attention again to this committee's activity, nine of its officers published a communique in ROMANIA LIBERA on 5 June 1990, using completely inappropriate language and speaking on behalf of the Army, generating various problems as a result. In referring to the way in which claims contained in the 12 February appeal were resolved, they were incomplete and distorted the realities of the Army's democratization process. The signatories of the communique, attributing certain merits to themselves that they do not deserve, made proposals that foster dissatisfaction among the military cadres, affect the combat ability of the Army, and exceed the Defense Ministry's sphere of activity. The statements referring to the Ministry of Interior represent a serious interference in its activity and an attempt to create dissention between this ministry, the Ministry of National Defense, and the population.

The aforementioned matters justify the Higher Military Council in stating that the aforementioned nonrepresentative committee carried out certain actions that played into the hands of those who aim to destabilize public life, as has been noted on 13 and 14 June 1990. The members of the Higher Military Council unanimously support the position of the National Defense Ministry contained in the communique issued on 5 June 1990 and, according to the government's requests, has decided to put an end to the activity of the Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army, at the same time canceling the provisions of Order No. 16 of 4 March 1990. Through this action they oblige all cadres engaged in this action to return to the units to which they belong.

Likewise, as of 15 June 1990, the existence and functioning of any groups and committees set up outside the legal framework of the Army are banned. The Higher Military Council reasserts its constant concern with continuing to ensure favorable conditions for developing and asserting the personality of all military cadres and for promoting democratic principles through ways that do not affect the specific values of the military institution.

The Higher Military Council assures the whole Romanian people that the country's Army is and remains faithful to the values of December 1989, the victory it helped to bring about, and that it will ensure the protection of democratically elected state institutions, and will defend the territorial integrity of the country, the sovereignty of the people, and Romania's Independence.

Army Reportedly Replacing Miners With Soldiers

AU1506072290 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0510 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Antonia Rados telephone dispatch from Bucharest—live]

[Text] [Studio announcer Werner Loew] We have just reported that, according to latest reports, Iliescu has now, as it were, brought in soldiers in place of the miners. Can you confirm that?

[Rados] Yes, I can confirm that. At the moment a large part of the miners are withdrawing from the center, and in particular from University Square, which they occupied throughout yesterday and—one must say this clearly—where they beat up and really terrorized passers-by, people, students, and young people all day long. During the night these miners—one must point out that they are civilians who are armed with clubs and iron bars—acted autonomously, without the police intervening at all, to erect street barriers and check people.

[Studio announcer] Does this change mean that the situation is—in quotation marks—normalizing?

[Rados] Well, I would not put it that way. What one must remember is that, on the one hand, the antigoverment demonstration was broken up by force, with most people being beaten to the extent that they had to be hopitalized. On the other hand, last night a communique was issued—and this shows you something of what is going on behind the scenes—banning the committee for democratization in the Army, which was founded in March. That means in effect that the Army has been disciplined again. On Wednesday [13 June], when the television center was being attacked, the Army did not intervene and that appears to have been a serious problem for Iliescu—that soldiers apparently refused to advance—and this problem appears to have been resolved, as it were, with this official disbanding of this committee, with the public allegation that certain officers are disloyal, as was said.

[Studio announcer] Does that mean that this time the opposition cannot reckon with the support of the Army, as was the case in December?

[Rados] Public support by the Army is a very delicate issue and would probably be going too far. What is clear is that the Army is a power factor. That is one thing. Don't forget that Interior Minister Chitac was replaced by a civilian. I believe that in the background of this unrest, a real power struggle is going on within this power bloc, if one can put it that way—Army, Front, and of course also the security service, the earlier Securitate, part of which is inside the Army—and that at the moment the Army is being kept on a short leash so that such things will not happen again. Iliescu had these miners, as it were, called up and brought into town

because for a whole day he could not be sure that the Army would act against his opponents.

[Studio announcer] A final question, Mrs. Rados. We have just heard the opinion of French Foreign Minister Dumas. What have we come to, in your opinion, if after elections that did not produce the desired result people immediately were prepared to take up arms? How would you assess the position of the demonstrating opposition?

[Rados] I do not share the opinion of French Foreign Minister Dumas. I must say that I myself saw the government taking very brutal action against the opposition. Small groups of demonstrators were certainly radical and extremist, as the government said. However, the way in which action was taken against demonstrators, the way in which the offices of the opposition parties were demolished and destroyed, and the way in which a president is, as it were, calling for violence by bringing 5,000 miners to the capital, and he probably procured clubs for them—this is certainly not the way democracies should deal with their opponents. There are, of course, people who have gone underground since yesterday evening—opposition politicians. There was a definite attack against ROMANIA LIBERA, the only good opposition paper here. Watching television yesterday, the evening news, one was actually watching the kind of propaganda show that is really only possible in dictatorships, with people, with so-called demonstrators accusing themselves, and with massive accusations on television against any kind of opposition. There are people here who are afraid that this might be—so to say, let me express this carefully—the beginning of the end. However, to make it clear, the way in which Iliescu is dealing with the opposition now is not democratic.

[Studio announcer] Thank you very much for this report, Mrs. Rados.

[Rados] Thank you; good-bye.

Reports on Situation Returning to Normal

'Relatively Calm' in Bucharest 14 Jun

AU1406215290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2119 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—On Thursday afternoon Bucharest was controlled by order-keeping forces supported by miners who had arrived in the night of 14 June and city residents. The situation was relatively calm on the premises of the key institutions that had been the target of destabilizing attacks during the previous day and night. In University Square road traffic is returning to normal. Various individuals attempting to cause disorder in the area were stopped by groups of miners and Bucharesters. Outside the main offices of Bucharest Police and the Ministry of the Interior, guarded by light armor carriers of the National Defence Ministry, a few hundred people voiced their indignation at the destabilizing attempts of the past two days that greatly perturbed the lives and work of Bucharesters and not only theirs.

Other key areas—Victory Square where the seat of the government stands, the television building—continue to be protected by National Defence Ministry troops. Pedestrian and road traffic in these areas is free.

Bucharest 'Quiet,' Traffic Normal 15 Jun

AU1506085190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] After two hot days, life has returned to normal in Bucharest. From the early morning hours, the city resumed its usual course and it is calm and quiet. After more than 50 days, traffic is flowing normally again in University Square. The mayoralty has made every effort to ensure that the major streets regain their civilized appearance.

Troops of the Ministry of Interior and groups of miners are ensuring order in University and Victory Square. Random checks are being carried out on citizens's private cars. According to our information, all economic units have resumed work—ROMPRES reports.

Further on Situation in Bucharest

AU1406225490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2139 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Political Life: Bucharest Without 'Golania'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—University Square in central Bucharest, occupied from 22 April by protesters who proclaimed it a "neocommunist free zone" was cleared Wednesday morning by order-keeping forces following a request from the Prosecutor Office to the government of the country one day before. The measure was prompted—as the Prosecutor Office says in its statement—by the transformation of this part of central Bucharest into a "temporary haven" of drug trafficking, prostitution and black marketeering." [quotation marks as received]

For seven weeks, irresponsible persons—subsidised and guided from the shadow by forces who pursued to destabilise the country—politically as well as socially, permanently incited to violence and even crime from that area dubbed "Golania" [hooligan land], as the Prosecutor Office says. Through meetings held several times during the day and through the hunger strike initiated by several "permanent residents" of the tents outside the National Theatre, "Golania" had actually become an unlawful permanent demonstration, a seat of political and social tension, a focus of confrontation and a growing concern of all the citizens of the country. After the 20 May elections, the election campaign seemed to have continued in University Square where from demonstrators staged noisy marches to various parts of the city every day, first of all to the television and the

government headquarters, to demand an end to communism—which the December revolution had swept away for ever—and more recently, a license for an independent television station.

The attempts of the government to open a dialogue that the demonstrators themselves had called for, ended in failure every time, primarily because of the terms set by demonstrators. The searches for a peaceful solution to the University Square problem, the government's tolerant attitude to demonstrators were regarded as a sign of weakness of the authorities, and people who were at odds with the law continued virtually unhindered to snub the basic rules of conduct and public order.

Things came to a head Wednesday when acts of violence were committed until late into the night by fascist-type elements who attacked the police and the military on duty, stormed the buildings of the Ministry of the Interior, the city police, the television, and seriously injured persons, also causing heavy damage, heavier than in the December revolution as is the case with the television studios.

Subsequent events proved that the violence in the night of 13 June unleashed by elements who attempted "a true legionary-type rebellion" was premeditated and well organised, but that it apparently was unconnected with the hunger strikers in University Square. However, the objects that the police found in the demonstrators' tents in "Golania"—among which there were also weapons, shows that the hotbed of tension in University Square that worried the population of the country to an ever greater extent was maintained in order to destabilise the country politically and socially, and to prevent the state power—parliament and the president—freely elected by the people on 20 May after 45 years of dictatorship from taking office. Those plans were thwarted by the action of the Army, police and workers, including of the miners who travelled to Bucharest, as they had done before, to help remove the hotbeds of violence and unlawfulness, and to restore order.

600 Detainees Under Police Investigation

AU1406221690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2037 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 114/6/1990—Six hundred persons were detained by police during 13 June in the wake of the acts of violence launched by destabilizing elements in Bucharest against Romania's young democracy. The people in custody are being screened for their involvement in the devastation of central offices of major institutions and of shops, and in seriously injuring order-keeping forces and residents. People under 14 will be returned to their families, those over 14 will be brought in court if they are proved to have taken deliberate action.

The number of order-keeping forces who were injured in various acts of aggression is 29, of which seven are in hospital in serious condition. 18 vehicles were set on fire.

Opposition Leader Ratiu Said Beaten, Detained

AU1506040490 Paris AFP in English 0019 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] London, June 15 (AFP)—Ion Ratiu, a prominent Romanian opposition leader who was a candidate in April's elections, was on Thursday beaten and taken away from his Bucharest home to an unknown destination by people claiming to be police officers, Mr. Ratiu's son Nicolae Ratiu said here.

A statement issued in Paris by the World Union of Free Romanians, an expatriates' grouping, said Mr. Ratiu had been attacked and taken away by some of the miners who have been in effective control of the riot-torn city since early on Thursday.

Both statements said that three other people had also been beaten and taken away with Mr. Ratiu, who returned to Romania earlier this year after years of exile in London to head the National Peasants' Party.

Before the abductions, Mr. Ratiu's home had been invaded by the coal-miners, who were brought into Bucharest early on Thursday by the government to take over the city from anti-government protesters, Nicolae Ratiu and the Paris-based group said.

Nicolae Ratiu, who lives in London, said he had received the report in a telephone call from his cousin, who was present at the incident and who said he was himself beaten and briefly detained by the miners.

The World Union of Free Romanians issued a statement protesting against the attack on Mr. Ratiu and calling for his immediate release.

Police Reportedly Saved Him From Miners

AU1506103490 Paris AFP in English 1015 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 15 (AFP)—Millionaire opposition leader Ion Ratiu, who fled into exile 52 years ago, on Friday branded Romania a "banana republic" after he had escaped from rampaging miners who wrecked his home. Mr. Ratiu told journalists a policeman had taken him by car to "somewhere in the Romanian capital" when miners, unleashed by the government to crush protest, tried to drag him off on Thursday. His house was ransacked, furniture ripped up and files pulled apart.

The leader of the conservative National Peasants' Party, defeated in May 20 presidential elections, resurfaced safe and sound Friday morning.

"It's like in the worst of banana republics. First they (the government) started a riot and then they unleashed the miners."

He went into exile as fascism rose in Romania, but on Friday said "this period is worse". Mr. Ratiu only returned to Bucharest in mid-January after the December overthrow

of the Ceausescu dictatorship. But he pledged to "stay on to continue to try and promote democracy".

The whereabouts of the other opposition presidential candidate, Radu Campeanu, were still unknown Friday.

The city centre house of Mr. Campeanu, who heads the centre-right National Liberal Party, was closed off by miners. A policeman at the house said he "had left with his family for an unknown destination".

The offices of opposition parties have been ransacked and partly burnt.

Student League Leader Munteanu in Hospital

AU1406222290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2046 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—In connection with the alleged death of Marian Munteanu, leader of the Students' League, we are in a position to state the following: Mr. Munteanu was admitted in the morning of 14 June to the Bucharest's emergencies hospital where he is being treated.

A "ROMPRES" reporter went to the hospital where he got the information at about 8.00 p.m. No detail could be got of the circumstances that led to Marian Munteanu's hospitalization.

Mr. Munteanu's general condition is satisfactory, a statement of the Ministry of Health says. Marian Munteanu, who was visited by his mother during the day, asked that a press conference be called for Friday 15 June.

Miners Reported Back in Streets 15 Jun

AU1506084290 Paris AFP in English 0818 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 15 (AFP)—Hundreds of miners were back out on the streets of the capital Friday arresting and clubbing anti-government "suspects" as the new interior minister met student leaders in the aftermath of bloody riots.

Bucharest radio reported the meeting as "a first contact" between Doru Viorel Ursu, a military judge who took office Thursday saying he wanted to see the students immediately. But no details of the talks emerged. Mr. Ursu took over from General Mihail Chitac, who was sacked after the government, blaming the weakness of the police, called in thousands of miners to put down what it described as attempts to overthrow the government. At least five people died and 277 were injured during the troubles Wednesday and Thursday.

The miners, wielding iron bars and coal picks, had mercilessly beaten men and women suspected of supporting mass demands for the government to be swept of reformed communists who held senior posts in the Ceausescu dictatorship, including President Ion Iliescu. Miners were out on University Square on Friday, correspondents said, after leaving the city centre under police control overnight.

Suspects were being dragged off to a temporary interrogation centre on the edge of the square or shoved onto a bus full of police officers parked near the National Theatre. Near the bus, journalists saw suspects being held by police and beaten by miners.

Meanwhile National Peasants' Party leader Ion Ratiu his was back at his home Friday after disappearing Thursday when miners ransacked his home, a correspondent reported. Mr. Ratiu, a millionaire who returned to Bucharest in January after the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime, said a policeman had taken him by car "somewhere in the Romanian capital" when miners tried to drag him off. He stood in the May 20 presidential elections.

The opposition newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA failed to appear Friday after type-setters demonstrated outside the daily's offices Thursday criticising the journalists. One staff member said the newspaper could be published by "a different editorial staff".

People claiming to be type-setters had rampaged through the offices Thursday and miners then occupied the place briefly demanding a ban on the paper which they said "spread hate and disorder".

Meanwhile government spokesman Cristian Unteanu said on Friday that the situation was "normal".

Deputies Assembly, Senate To Resume 18 Jun

AU1406150690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1450 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Romanian Government; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Communique: The Deputies' Assembly and the Senate will resume proceedings on Monday, 18 June, at 1000 [0700 GMT] in the Parliament building and in [words indistinct] hall, respectively.

Weapons, Fake Money Alleged at NPCDP, NLP

AU1406205090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2011 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Political Life: "Arguments" of Neofascist Elements"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/6/1990—Specific arguments for the methods and means used by neofascist elements in their acts of violence as part of a planned coup d'etat can be seen at police stations in the capital of Romania.

Major Gheorghe Ionescu, chief of the Criminal Investigation Office of the No. 7 Police Station in Bucharest's District No. 2, displayed in the morning of 14 June a true collection of dangerous objects found in the basement of the central offices of the National Christian-Democratic

Peasant Party [NPCDP]: more than 100 boxes each with 300 leads for air rifles. In certain conditions they may be used as ammunition to intimidate and cause panic.

At the headquarters of another party the National Liberal Party [NLP] which was also searched Thursday, large sums of counterfeit money were found along with a sophisticated printing press where the paper money was printed. The money was used to buy people who committed acts of vandalism, Major Marcel Stanila said.

A frightening assortment of knives, iron bars, stakes, gasoline cans and incendiary bottles, hatchets and cartridges for pistols were displayed by Major General Penciuc, commander of the regular armed forces and the groups of workers and miners who guarded the government. All the objects were captured from the so-called peaceful demonstrators, Major General Penciuc said.

Demonstrators' Weapons, Ammunition Confiscated

AU1506100890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0854 GMT 15 Jun 90

["Weapons of...Peaceful Demonstrators"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1990—Objects were found on some of the protagonists of the violent acts of 13 June in Bucharest attesting to the "peaceful nonviolent" intentions of those elements. Knives, weapons, ammunition, chains, incendiary bottles and others, belong to the arsenal those neofascist elements used on 13 June against the population and public buildings. The police have a true collection of such objects confiscated from those who stormed the Television Studios, the Interior Ministry, other institutions.

More than 100 boxes each with 300 leads for air rifles manufactured by an enterprise in Cluj-Napoca and a number of weapons that use this kind of ammunition to intimidate and create panic.

The list could be completed with iron bars and other blunt objects, significant for the humanistic purpose of the authors of the dramatic events of Wednesday that marked the Bucharesters' life.

Consequences of 'Declasse, Legionary Elements'

AU1406225590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/6/1990—Charred vehicles, most of them cars, could be seen on June 14 in the morning, before the beginning of the operations for the clearing of the debris left behind on June 13 by declasee, legionary elements who caused damage in the streets around the Ministry of the Interior and the Bucharest city police. Other destroyed cars were in the basement garage of the police building that had been set on fire.

A group of Jiu Valley miners who came to Bucharest gave a helping hand in removing the destroyed vehicles from the area.

EEC To Review Situation, Demonstrators Treatment

AU1406184890 Paris AFP in English 1755 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Brussels, June 14 (AFP)—European Community foreign ministers will meet Monday to discuss Romania's brutal dispersion of anti-government protestors in Bucharest, diplomatic sources in Brussels said Thursday.

The discussion in Luxembourg comes as the Community is due to sign a trade agreement with Romania, as yet unfinished because of "technical translation difficulties".

It was requested by Britain, where Foreign Office minister William Waldegrave earlier described Romania's treatment of protestors Wednesday as a "great overreaction", warning that Romania could not expect favours afforded other Eastern European countries if it pursued a policy of crushing opposition movements. Romania would be the last Eastern European country to reach such a trade accord.

A spokesman said the Commission was "attentively" watching developments in Bucharest.

Meanwhile, the 24 Western countries which backed reforms in Poland and Hungary are due to meet in Brussels early July to decide policies towards other Eastern European countries.

Countries wanting to benefit from aid had to meet exacting criteria on human rights and political and economic liberalisation.

EC Economic Agreement Suspended

AU1506094490 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Strasbourg, June 15 (AFP)—The European Commission decided Friday to suspend ratification of an economic cooperation agreement with Romania, European Commissioner for Regional Policy Bruce Millan said.

The agreement was initialled a week ago and the ratification procedure should have been completed for a formal signing in the autumn.

"But I can confirm to you that we will not be pursuing this procedure," Mr. Millan told the European Parliament here.

SPD Communique Calls for Calm, Quiet

AU1406195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/6/1990—The Romanian Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] expresses its worry about the escalation of violence in the capital by irresponsible groups whose obvious purpose is the country's political destabilization. The actions started by those groups on June 13, 1990 endanger our young

democracy and may lead to the setting in of a climate of terror and unsafety, assesses a communique signed by Professor Marius Carciumaru, chairman of the party's leading committee.

For the democratic institutions constituted after the May 20 poll to be able to function for the nation's benefit, it is now more necessary than ever that an atmosphere of calm and quiet be set in, which is so badly needed by the Romanian people.

The communique also requests the government to take immediate steps for the order-keeping bodies to work more efficiently, and the immediate starting of an investigation of the grave events that resulted in loss of human lives and the devastation of several buildings, including also the headquarters of the Bucharest branch of the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party.

NLP Appeals for Calm, Resumption of Work

AU1406195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/6/1990—The highly serious events that started in Bucharest on June 13 in the morning jeopardize social peace and quiet, the people's lives and the young democracy that is gradually setting in Romania, the National Liberal Party [NLP] shows in a communique sent to "ROMPRES."

Reiterating the position expressed in a statement released last month, the National Liberal Party considers that what should prevail in a real democracy is the fight of ideas and principles and blames any form of violence, no matter where it comes from.

Given the present situation, the communique reads, we insistently appeal to calm, to peace, to a halt to any shows of brutality, we appeal to all citizens urging them to resume their activities at their workplaces.

The communique expresses protest against the devastation of cultural institutes and of the National Liberal Party's headquarters.

We consider the task of maintaining public order against any form of violent extremism is the task of the government and should be exercised only through the agency of police forces that are called upon to resume their attributes, the communique reads in conclusion.

Bratianu Liberal Union Calls for Order

AU1406195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1612 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/6/1990—The Bratianu Liberal Union deplores what has happened in Bucharest and demands the government to take every step for the reinstatement of legality and order in the capital, so that the Parliament elected freely after half a century of dictatorship may be able to work in peace and quiet.

Reconstruction Party Condemns Vandalism

AU1506103690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 15 Jun 90

["Political Life—Another Party Condemns Excesses"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1990—The Party of National Democratic Reconstruction of Baia Mare condemned the acts of vandalism in Bucharest and asked the parliament and the president elect to make the Government take the necessary measures, without making consessions that could harm the democracy established after the revolution, reads inter alia a communique of that party.

Transylvania Unity Party Calls for Firm Action

AU1506103890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0939 GMT 15 Jun 90

["Political Life—Romanians' Party of Transylvania Ask Authorities To Be Firmer"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/6/1990—The Steering Committee of the Romanian National Unity Party of Transylvania considers that no unlawful action, the failure to firmly apply the law can be justified and no one ever could claim to have a reason to grossly violate the order of law.

A communique of the Steering Committee of that party asks the country's president, the government, the prosecutor's office, just as all the bodies meant to see to it that the country's laws are stricly observed, to be intransigent without any reticence.

Coposu Condemns Violence, Favors Dialogue

AU1406080490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0739 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Political Life: Statement by Peasants Party's President"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/6/1990—We are against any kind of violence. We have always detested and firmly condemned it, no matter its origin, stated on Wednesday night Corneliu Coposu, president of the national Christian-Democratic Peasants Party, in a statement sent to the Romanian news agency ROMPRES. Regrettably that have been dangerous confrontations destabilizing the civilization and order climate so necessary during these difficult moments. We should not slide towards clashes. The repressive authorities should show restraint. The rumourmonger press should put an end to all instigations, to the hatemongering, to the calumny campaign and permanent incitation of spirits. The totalitarian methods should be abandoned. All conscious Romanians are demanded to act wisely and tactfully, putting the country's superior interests and the promotion of a genuine democracy above all their impulses and prides.

As I have repeatedly specified, the National Christian-Democratic Peasants Party does not take active part in the political manifestation in the University Square, but agrees with the peaceful and righteous claims which are in line with its programmatic views. The National Christian-Democratic Peasants Party has repeatedly and insistently recommended the dialogue for solving all the just claims and demands.

Vatra Romaneasca Appeals to National Unity

AU1406224890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] An appeal to the nation was launched by the Cluj branch of the Vatra Romaneasca Union. It states that, taking note of events in Bucharest on 13-14 June, the Cluj branch of the union firmly disapproves of such acts, which undermine the young Romanian democracy and seriously affect our people's quietude. An appeal is made to the national awareness of each citizen, regardless of his profession or political color, to do everything possible to thwart all kinds of aggression, destabilization, and extremism, thus contributing to observing the people's will, which was expressed in the 20 May ballot. Brother Romanians, this is a crucial time; we must be united and leave political passions and ambitions aside, to the benefit of a Romania, which we all want to be democratic, stable, and sovereign.

* Motives of University Square Demonstrators

90BA0148I Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 May 90 p 4

[Florin Diaconescu article: "Hooligans... Heroes... Riffraff"]

[Text] In the fifth week of the Hooligan Epic, a demonstration without precedent in the world, a period of time in which any government with some common sense would have understood that something must be rotten somewhere, Romania's provisional leadership remained unmoved, once again proving that its so-called openness to frank dialogue was only one smudge of the vulgar paint applied to the grinning skull of communism in a fresh attempt to disguise a certainty that decimated us for almost half a century. The fact of ignoring and trivializing tens of thousands of people, the vanguard of the more than 6 million who signed the Proclamation of Timisoara; of slandering and insulting these continuators of the wonderful ideals that inspired the days between 16-22 December 1989; and of cancelling with one sentence spoken at a press conference the sacrifice of those who stopped the communist fire with their bare young breasts in that infernal night constitutes a sacrilege and a blasphemy that relegates their perpetrators to a specific place in history, namely to the dark corner inhabited by the worst monsters created by the human race for its own destruction.

Each person has a right to wonder what has been happening for so many days and nights in the University Square and in other cities; perplexity and the desire for information and truth must in theory be satisfied through the medium of television, which has been described as an objetive means of reporting the daily history of a period charged with numerous social and political tremors. But in practice, what image does this institution offer of the genuine revolution succeeding that of 22 December? Unedifying fragments, culled with unerring professional care long trained at the school of communist lies, derogatory comments, and ubiquitous protests by "honest" people, which converge to restore the tradition interrupted on 22 December, when everyone could see on television how resolutely working people were condemning the "hooligans" of Timisoara who were destabilizing the country and disturbing the peace of the fascist-communist vault. In December someone appearing on television, said that his only objective was to serve the cause of the Romanian people and labeled the heroes of Timisoara as hooligans; he was followed by a determined speaker who urged us to unite around the former RCP in the struggle against the destabilizing, retrograde elements; now someone else appears and describes as riffraff tens of thousands of alert people, urging us to immediately terminate such "counterrevolutionary demonstrations," after which several solemn looking speakers show us whole notebooks filled with vehement protests and appeals to unity around the present NSF [National Salvation Front]. At first sight they seem to be scenes from a movie we've already seen, episodes that give the shudders to any honest person, but the problem is much more serious and has much deeper implications. The "hooligans" of 22 December were later rebaptized heroes; their sacrifice in the streets was recognized as the salvation of the Romanian nation. They remained heroes until 24 April, when they dared deviate from the planned scenario and dared shake the pedestal on which the "new visionary of the Carpathians" had installed himself. Once again the youth cried, "down with communism and its nomenklatura"; they shattered the dawn with the revolution erupting from their breasts steeled on 21-22 December; they filled the air with their hopes, so that those who died can see that we have not forgotten them and that this nation will not rest until the last head of the red dragon has been cut off. Prominent intellectuals, genuine beacons of the Romanian spirit, workers who suffered in the struggle to earn a dignified living, and peasants who labored in wind and heat to grow our daily bread called on their brethern with feeling, courage, and despair. People like Doina Cornea, Stelian Tanase, Ana Blandiana, Gheorghe Zamfir, and Ovidiu Moldovan, workers throughout the country, and peasants, all of them united by the ideal of eradicating communism, have given clear proof of lofty patriotism. Almost 70 people went on a hunger strike as a final expression of despair, choosing a slow and painful death to a life devoid of freedom and dignity. All those and the tens of thousands of Romanians who after work sacrifice their time on the altar of freedom are mocked, insulted, and accused of all sorts of things; they are provoked by inciters trained for dozens of years at the school of "original communist democracy" in the hope that they will make some mistake

justifying a 21 December- or 24 April-style intervention by the alert bodies in charge of public order even before the day decreed as the limit of "paternal tolerance"—17 May—the day when everything, conscience, sacrifice, and hope was supposed to have been swept clean and tossed into the garbage together with the gesture the Romanians made in the winter of 1989, for the sake of the peace and "stability" of a defunct society in the process of moral putrefaction. But they, the riffraff, are wonderful; they applaud every insult or enemy and remain unshaken in their antitotalitarian faith.

The University Square is a genuine school of democracy where the Romanian people are both the professors and the students, a people inspired by a desire for physical and spiritual freedom. Each one of their best representatives is contributing his drop to the already existing ocean.

A short analysis of this frequently invoked "consensus" shows that this idea requires either a level of consciousness above and beyond what is humanly possible, or the kind of peaceful and serene idiocy necessary for a totalitarian government, without irritation and excitement. A certain consensus can exist only about a range of ideals that may at a certain point unite people as the high points of a profound consciousness; there is unanimity in the aspirations for freedom and dignity of the anticommunist demonstrators these days but, I repeat, this consensus concerns the objective, not the actual means of achieving it. A truly democratic and dynamic society that continually searches for new means of expression is characterized by diversity and individual initiative, and consensus on practical matters is extremely dangerous. The term itself is being abused in that it is used as a synonym for stable balance which, if maintained for too long, causes death; living beings are characterized by constant change that in the final analysis ensures life.

The Romanian spring in which students, professors, peasants, and workers, the inhabitants of this ancestral land, are joining their hands, presages a freedom-filled summer; the perfidious attempts to stiffle it under the cold and dirty blanket of dictatorship are nothing but the embarrassing last gasps of a moribund system that is trying to drag as many of the pure seedlings of this long-suffering people with it into the grave. Our sacred spring is being besmirched; it is being poisoned; it is being said that freedom cannot be won in the streets. That is one of the greatest mistakes of the provisional government, because it gives rise to the question that an increasing number of Romanians are beginning to ask: where were the people of Timisoara, Bucharest, Brasov, Cluj, and Sibiu on 16-22 December? In front of their television sets, in parliamentary halls, or at their residences in the Primaverii Avenue?

No, gentlemen, the people of those cities shed their blood on the pavements where we are now invited to stew in our own juice, but the young people of those days will not allow anyone to corrupt the sacred ideal of our revolution, however many calumnies and however much violence may emanate from that certain somebody.

Romanians, we were given our freedom by brave hearts and pure spirits; their sacrifice must not be wasted in the maze leading to the chaos of lies and fear. Let us finish what they began in those days of December, let us show the entire world that our people are a people of heroes willing to choose death over salvery!

* NSF Pledge on Social Democracy Derided

90BA0148B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Alexandru George article: "Socialism With a Smiling Face"]

[Text] For the past few months our country has had a social-democratic government, but not a political regime of the same color. The power is in the hands of former communists who preserved the structures of a totalitarian state, or did not hasten to fully dismantle them as they should have. In contrast to many who think otherwise, we believe that our leaders do not wish to return to communism, but that they want to "build" a new society based on an ideology that they view as very appropriate and handy. After the fright of December and January, the party bourgeoisie changed its appearance and regained its smile; more than that, it even found a very successful poster smile, too. This is evident in all the statements and actions of our state leaders, not counting their denials, contradictions, hesitations, and stammering. No one among them clearly asserted Romania's transition to a social-democratic regime, because for months they kept up the illusion of a "large representation," which was finally dispelled by the events of the past month. This situation was detected by all those who sincerely voted for the NSF [National Salvation Front]: they did not vote for neocommunism or a return to communism, but for a "somewhat better" regime.

Our recent social-democrats opted for the Swedish "model" of socialism as a self-definition (i.e., that of a country completely different from ours, with a small population inhabiting a vast territory, which developed a specialized and extensive urban and industrial civilization over a period of almost three centuries of peace, and which has a living standard that has long been among the highest in the world). There was also talk of the model of French agriculture (forgetting that that is a highly productive and extremely specialized agriculture which has nothing in common with Romania's agriculture). And finally, Japan has been mentioned (more recently), something that defies any comparison. Nevertheless, I have heard important people talk of that "model," thereby indicating great imagination, if nothing else.

What is the meaning of all these chimeras? Mere promises or lack of any realism? When the communists of the previous generation imposed the Soviet model, that was not as absurd as the others, on the contrary, it was even seemingly "logical": its purpose was to pull the country from among the poorly developed group—by fast and brutal methods—and to place it on a different orbit. The forced industrialization (which turned the workers into docile and highly profitable slaves), the urbanization

(which destroyed the traditional village), and investments in key sectors (by sacrificing the interests of the people, who were reduced to abject poverty) were tenaciously pursued to absurd extremes and should have led to a society that pure Marxists would have called "monopolistic state capitalism." That attempt failed, but our country ended up with projects that were not seen through, with a developed but inefficient industrial structure, an agriculture lacking sufficient manpower although the rural population is enormously numerous in comparison with the arable area, an economy devoid of inner resources, a vast bureaucracy in keeping with the extreme state control, and with very "busy" people who do nothing useful.

Could this situation be remedied by a social-democratic or socialist government (possibly of a Swedish or Scandinavian type)? Social-democracy was never called upon to deal with such problems. On the contrary, because its best feature was opposition designed to temper the excesses of developed capitalism, it was born as a "thorn in the side" of a dynamic industrialism characterized by extremely individualized initiative and earning skills—tendencies that are atrophied in our country and must only now be set into motion and strongly encouraged. The social-democracy deals mainly with the issue of distributing an already existing wealth and with achieving balance, fraternity, and human solidarity. All of the statements of the Front leaders follow that line. Can their badly needed immediate practical actions follow a different line? Who will wield the scalpel? Who will be the surgeon for this terrible operation?

In order to heal Romania's economy we need structural reforms and people like Margaret Thatcher, with whom Mr. Iliescu shares nothing in common, except for the easy switch from frowning to a charming smile and vice-versa. She has been trying for more than a decade to improve Great Britain, backed not by a team of activists willing to make concessions, but by a more than 250 year old party exprienced in so-called capitalism. Her biggest efforts went into attempting to repair the errors of the Labor party's economic policies, that is, of the social-democrats. In our country, the communists of the old generation undertook (contrary to their theoretical program, but not absurdly) to develop industrialism more than the bourgeoisie did. The present communists, transformed into social-democrats, intend to take on the task of "privatization," in other words, a task directly opposed to the social-democratic program, which encourages state control and control of private property, limiting it through a policy of high taxation and by allocating a considerable part of the budget to the nonproductive sector.

Which does not mean that fooling us with talk of Swedish socialism, French agriculture and livestock, and Japanese dynamism cannot continue at will. In our country's tragic situation, instead of chimeras, photogenic posters, and smiles, we would rather have working efficiency and realistic thinking. Which should make anyone frown.

This is the honest attitude at present. Let's keep the smiles for later, when we have had some successes, when everyone can smile, not just one person.

* Peasant Party Paper on Loss of Elections

90BA0148C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 30 May 90 p 1

[Eugen Mihaescu article: "Could We Have Won the Elections?"]

[Text] Yes, of course, the National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party [NPP] could have won the election, as it did in 1946. There is no need for any special analysis to realize that the Romanians are suited for democracy, not for neocommunism. Nevertheless, the diversion was so great, the disinformation so "professional," that the Romanians voted against their nature, against their inner self and their freedom values. In 1990 Romania there were no Soviet tanks, but there were several hundred thousands members of the nomenklatura and about as many securitate members, as well as an enormous number of people who stood to profit. A different Phanariot, much more consistent and aggressive than the 1820 one, managed to channel the Romanian people against history.

Alert people, pained by this disaster that hit us after the heroic sacrifices of the youth, criticize us for not having been strong enough to save the Romanian people. We understand this cry, which will grow louder in the coming weeks and months. Indeed, neither we nor the other traditionally democratic parties and the newly established young forces should not have lost and should have made any sacrifice to rescue the Romanian people. That's what should have been! Let us take a moment to imagine what a NNP, NLP [National Liberal Party], center government would have meant for Romania at the present. Let us think of the prospects that would have opened up for the recovery of our economic, social and political life. Think of the international press we would have had. Of Romania's increased prestige. How many people in the world would have been at our side if the situation had been like that in Poland, Hungary, or East Germany. What would have been the Romanians' mood seeing themselves free of neocommunism and no longer threatened by the old communist structures. What high hopes we would have had and how much greater would have been our nation's energies. There is no question or exclamation mark after these sentences. We leave them with a mere period and each reader can put the appropriate punctuation mark. This is like a second vote that each reader can cast for his own eternity. How badly could we have looked next to the other East-Europeans who accompanied us for the past half century?

Considering these ideas, the criticism is even more obvious. The NPP, NLP, SDP [Social-Democratic Party] and all the other political forces in favor of democracy should have done everything possible to win. Not for the sake of the power itself, as they have been accused, but in order to completely pull our country

away from communism. For non-communism in Romania. Having the popular vote at their side, the neocommunists are massively reorganizing, after having been neutralized in December and January. Can they ever again be toppled in free elections? The manner in which the electoral campaign and the elections proceeded show that this is not very probable. What has been happening since January will continue to happen. On the contrary, these attacks designed to destroy the democratic opposition ideologically and organizationally will continue. Alone the threats proffered against our publication are an indication along this line, just like those against the independent and private press. Neither is the apolitical opposition spared, nor the trade unions; steps against them began already one month ago.

As we were saying, the criticism directed at us is not without justification. Fear is beginning to seize our society. The little hope there was is disappearing. People are turning inward. Many are stalked by despair. We are witnessing a social and political calamity of national proportions, which began with the Front's declaration as a political party and with the announcement of its participation in the elections. That is when a "decree-law" was "issued," the one that stirred up the student demonstrators: "Decree-law: the Front will be elected." At that moment on 20 January 1990 communism unmistakenly began to function again in Romania. A violent counter-propaganda was launched against the traditionally democratic parties. Massive efforts were made to chop down their newly formed bodies. A national movement was set up to grossly denigrate the activities of those parties. Their platforms were reinterpreted from the viewpoint of the communist ideology, not unlike the political education of the past 40 years. The NSF television and press unleashed a furious propaganda campaign against the democratic parties, especially the NPP, the party that rallied hundreds of thousands of supporters in only three weeks in January. Whole villages had joined the NPP with a stunning democratic enthusiasm. That determined the nomenklatura and the communists to counterattack. In the following weeks and months the NPP was the target of intimidation, violence, and savage attacks throughout the country. The hundreds of thousands of nomenklatura memebers opposed Romania's transition to democracy and allowed only cosmetic reforms. That is the opposition of the same social class generated by communism that neutralized Mr. Gorbachev's perestroyka. The behavior is identical. In this context, even if we assume, against all logic, that the NSF leadership will attempt the least radical reforms, they will fail. They cannot succeed with these privileged people, this national mafia dedicated to kickbacks, unethical relations, work evasion, and incompetence.

The absence of the NSF would have decisively paved Romania's road to democracy and to Europe. The leaders of this group, which seized the political power during the Revolution, could have been at the head of the list of any democratic party. Why did they turn that down? Theirs would have been the glory and the gratitude of the liberated Romanian people. Why did they not do it? Why? Because they had to save the nomenklatura and the ideology that has inflicted such suffering on the Romanian people.

Could we have won the election? The question is acceptable. The NPP could have won the election in January, but not after that. Everything was strangled in the cradle; currently, our democratic parties are poorly organized and suffering under the pressure of the new totalitarian regime, which has relentlessly regained ground in all the sectors and throughout the country. The NSF and its leaders did not give the opposition a chance.

* National Peasant Party Attitude Toward Jews

90BA0148H Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 May 90 p 1

[Gabriel Tepelea article: "The NPP and the Jews"]

[Text] Having come to our country on the occasion of the elections, the distinguished U.S. Senator Liberman asked one of the deputy chairmen of the National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party [NPP], Ion Diaconescu, about the attitude of that party toward the Jews.

Of course, the question would not have arisen if insinuations had not been slipped in the press and in private discussions about our deviation from democracy. Outlining the history of the NPP's relations with the Jews, Deputy Chairman Diaconescu stressed that we do not identify the Jewish people with several former or present communists or neocommunists; in other words, we are against Silviu Brucan, the former deputy editor in chief of SCINTEIA, but in the past we had Jewish deputies like Dr. Aurel Weiss, etc., journalists at DREPTATEA like Brunea-Fox, and at present we have collaborators like Mr. Kanner.

The fact is that, aside from intentional illogical statements, some of the actions carried out by Romania and by the NPP on behalf of the Jews are not sufficiently known, and this is what we would like to discuss here.

This is also the view of the former Rabbi of Cluj, Dr. Carmilly Weinberger who, having returned to Romania on a pilgrimage, said at a conference held in 1988 at the Nicolae Iorga History Institute (reported in the Luceafarul Almanac of 1989) that the misfortunes the Jews endured after Hitler came to power, culminating in the last two years of the Horthyst period in Hungary, "are not sufficiently well known to Romanian historians, just as the scope of the operation I was talking about is not widely known (i.e., the organization of a transit route for Jews from Hungary and other neighboring countries to Romania and Israel—e.n.) thanks to which thousands of Jews were saved from deportation and death." Rabbi Carmilly Weinberger emphasized three rescue operations: one involved the NPP headed by Iuliu Maniu and assisted by Emil Hatieganu and Raoul Serban in formerly Hungarian Northern Transylvania; the second involved church officials like the Greek Catholic Bishop Iuliu Hossu of Cluj

and officers like Mihail Gurgu and Colonel Cupsa, liaison men or just private persons like Arie Hirsch; and finally, the Rabbi mentioned the attitudes of some state administration members who, despite the fact that the regime was subordinated to Hitlerite Germany, directly or indirectly allowed the passage of Jews from Hungary and other neighboring countries to Romania and Israel. All these people saved approximately 16,000 Jews from certain death, at great personal risk, and thus deserve the gratitude of their descendants. These are the actions that in 1988 prompted Rabbi Weinberger to visit the grave of Cardinal Iuliu Hossu at the Bellu Cemetery and to deliver his report at the Nicolae Iorga History Institute, and won Professor Raoul Serban the Right of Nations in Israel award.

In this article we want to point out only some direct testimonies concerning the attitude of Iuliu Maniu and the NPP, which we hope will be remembered by all those who accepted premeditated calumnies without much thinking. The former Rabbi of Cluj Dr. Carmilly Weinberger wrote: "I got in touch with Iuliu Maniu through the intermediary of Raoul Serban. It has been more than 40 years since then, but I never forgot what Iuliu Maniu thought of the nefarious use made of aggressive state chauvinism in Hungary against the minorities. What followed that meeting should go down in history, because thanks to Maniu and Vasile Stoica (well-known diplomat—e.n.), an agreement was concluded between Zissu, Ernest Marton, and Mihai Antonescu, which had several fateful consequences in favor of the Jewish refugees in Romania." (The author recalled two such events: in one, identity cards were secured for Jews during their stay in Romania, and in another, Jews were issued official travel papers to Palestine—e.n.) "I myself left for Turkey in July 1944 from the port of Constanta with such a document. From Iuliu Maniu we also obtained 1,200 blank NPP cards which served as identity cards for Jews crossing from Hungary to Romania." We wonder: are all these facts not known—not to the communists, but to genuinely responsible factors when they make insinuations or statements about the NPP and the Jews?! In our struggle to place Iuliu Maniu in history as a representative of universal democracy who remained consistent in every circumstance, we wanted to recall here one of his great initiatives.

We want to highlight this appeal to information and honesty in the writings of Dr. Carmilly Weinberger, who returned to our country in order to express his gratitude to the people and country who rescued him and so many of his coreligionists: "I ended my lecture at the Nicolae Iorga Institute with a few remarks that constitute both a personal testimony and the record of a fact and observation. Hungary, I said there, murdered 80 percent of its Jews, whom it sent to the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Maidanek, while Romania tried to save what could be saved and threw a rescue line to those who were in danger of drowning. Hitler lost the war; the Jews lost six million people; the world lost its sense of human solidarity and Christian love of one's fellowman.

"The Romanian people, on the other hand, endeavored to save their faith in humanity. We Jews are and will always be grateful to them for that." (op. cit. p. 131, 132).

We made a point of recalling these testimonies by the former Rabbi of Cluj in order to emphasize the humanitarian attitude of the Romanians and the democratic consistency of the NPP. They may provide food for thought to those who are in too much of a hurry to spread disinformation in the country and abroad. These are documents and facts that cannot be ignored.

* List of Deputies by Electoral Districts

90BA0148F Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 30 May 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Assembly of Deputies: Seats by Electoral Districts"]

[Text]

Stage I: Deputies

Alba

1. NSF—Mihail Apostol Enachescu
2. NSF—Cindea Ioan Niculita
3. NSF—Nicolae Mraginean
4. NSF—Petru Fleser

Arad

1. NSF—Constantin Popescu
2. NSF—Dan Ivan
3. NSF—Nelu Aristide Dragomir
4. NSF—Marta Nora Tarnea
5. UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars]—Gheorghe (Gyorgy) Tokay

Arges

1. NSF—Catalin Marian Radulescu
2. NSF—Nicolae Olteanu
3. NSF—Constantin Argatu-Calinic
4. NSF—Filip Georgescu
5. NSF—Constantin Dragomir
6. NSF—Nichita Sandu
7. NSF—Adrian Duta
8. NSF—Dan-Ion-Cristian Popovici

Bacau

1. NSF—Octavian Opris
2. NSF—Sorin Cristea
3. NSF—Vasile Braneanu
4. NSF—Vasile Nistor
5. NSF—Gheorghe Vespan
6. NSF—Ioan Voicea
7. NSF—Neculai Lupu
8. NSF—Doina Melinie
9. NSF—Nicolae Ciocan

Bihor

1. NSF—Stefan Seremi
2. NSF—Vasile-Ionel Hadea
3. NSF—Vasile Blaga
4. NSF—Gheorghita Lupau
5. UDMR—Bela Nagy
6. UDMR—Iosif Csapo
7. UDMR—Zsolt Szilagyi

Bistrita-Nasaud

1. NSF—Paul Adrian Ilies
2. NSF—Mircea David
3. NSF—Ioan Catarig

Botosani

1. NSF—Nicolai Ureche
2. NSF—Dumitru Mocanu
3. NSF—Severin Zofota
4. NSF—Dumitru Nechifor
5. NSF—Ion Paicu
6. NSF—Aurelian Gulea

Brasov

1. NSF—Vasile Munteanu
2. NSF—Vasile Bran
3. NSF—Emil Stoica
4. NSF—Vasile Serbu
5. NSF—Ion Itu
6. PNL [National Liberal Party]—George Ioan Bese
7. UDMR—Lazar Madaras

Braila

1. NSF—Florica A. Dumitrescu
2. NSF—Ion C. Stefan
3. NSF—Elena R. Ene
4. NSF—Elarie R. Ciupala
5. NSF—Glicherie E. Stanciu

Buzau

1. NSF—Alexandru Dumitrescu
2. NSF—Dumitru Pislaru
3. NSF—Alexandru Albu
4. NSF—Petre Partal
5. NSF—Costin Sandu
6. NSF—Mihai Petrescu
7. NSF—Ovidiu Petrescu

Caras-Severin

1. NSF—Petru Bona
2. NSF—Adrian Ioan Vila
3. NSF—Gheorghe Pavel Balan
4. NSF—Vasile Matei

Calarasi

1. NSF—Nicolae Gh. Taut
2. NSF—Ioan V. Damian
3. NSF—Ion V. Gurau
4. NSF—Stelian Gh. Androne
5. NSF—Radu Dumitru Stefan Savu

Cluj

1. NSF—Vasile Salagean
2. NSF—Iosif Timen
3. NSF—Ionel Roman
4. NSF—Alexandru Lapusan
5. NSF—Marian Bia
6. UDMR—Ladislau-Stefan Pillich
7. UDMR—Vasile Poobradazky
8. APUNRTP—Mircea Cretu

Covasna

1. UDMR—Geza Domokos
2. UDMR—Arpad-Francisc Marton
3. UDMR—Akos Bajcsi

Dimbovita

1. NSF—Marius Mihalachioiu
2. NSF—Bogdan Patrascu
3. NSF—Victor Bostinaru
4. NSF—Dorin-Constantin Staicu
5. NSF—Elena Dumitru
6. NSF—Constantin Dumitrache
7. NSF—Adrian Silistraru

Dolj

1. NSF—Radu Berceanu
2. NSF—Stefan Ilie
3. NSF—Alexandru Brezniceanu
4. NSF—Vasile Cirjoi
5. NSF—Viorel Gaina
6. NSF—Petre Gongu
7. NSF—Constanta Comisel
8. NSF—Constantin Ivanovici
9. NSF—Dan Ionel Pappa
10. PNL—Ariton Nedelcu

Galati

1. NSF—Costel Gheorghiu
2. NSF—Ioan Catalin Iamandi
3. NSF—Constantin Mircea
4. NSF—Daniela Aprodu Buruiana
5. NSF—Teodor Dobritoiu
6. NSF—Adrian Sandulache
7. NSF—Constantin Arbire
8. NSF—Alexandru Comanescu

Giurgiu

1. NSF—Marin Pradila
2. NSF—Mihai Miron
3. NSF—Mihail Iusut
4. NSF—Dimitrie-Gabriel Nicolescu

Gorj

1. NSF—Victor Murea
2. NSF—Ion Tomescu

3. NSF—Stefan Marian Bejat Popescu
4. NSF—Dumitru Diaconescu

Harghita

1. UDMR—Erno Borbely
2. UDMR—Francisc Stefan Csutak
3. UDMR—Bela Incze
4. UDMR—Geza Jozsef Borsos
5. UDRM—Benedict Nagy

Hunedoara

1. NSF—Francisc Septimiu Krausz
2. NSF—Dumitru Armasescu
3. NSF—Ioan Marcu
4. NSF—Ioan Timis
5. NSF—Valeriu Butulescu
6. NSF—Ioan Iliescu

Ialomita

1. NSF—Mihai Iordache
2. NSF—Nicolae Radu
3. NSF—Ioan Cerchez
4. NSF—Constantin Parvu

Iasi

1. NSF—Constantin Orhei
2. NSF—Ioan Amihaesei
3. NSF—Florin Lucian Oarza
4. NSF—Gheorghe Piticari
5. NSF—Ioan Staicu
6. NSF—Vasile Diacon
7. NSF—Dumitru Radauceanu
8. NSF—Emil Lucian Alexandru
9. NSF—Dumitru Calance
10. NSF—Ion Hopulele

Maramures

1. NSF—Teodor Luputi
2. NSF—Silviu Ciplea
3. NSF—Mircea Man
4. NSF—Griguta Augustin Botis
5. NSF—Marcel Grec

Mehedinti

1. NSF—Stefan Tirisescu
2. NSF—Virgil Popescu
3. NSF—Gerhard Schwerin

Mures

1. UDMR—Ladislau Borbely
2. UDMR—Laszlo Zsigmond
3. UDMR—Gheorghe Frunda
4. UDMR—Karoly Kerekes
5. APUNRTP—Dumitru Petru Pop
6. APUNRTP—Coriolan Bucur
7. APUNRTP—Petru P. Borca
8. NSF—Corneliu Moldovan

Neamt

1. NSF—Mihai Emilian Mancas
2. NSF—Cristian Radulescu
3. NSF—Marinel Burdulia
4. NSF—Petre Ninosu
5. NSF—Gheorghe Stancov
6. NSF—Eftimie Stelian Ghita
7. NSF—Mihai Stoica
8. NSF—Dumitru Surdu

Olt

1. NSF—Marin Ionica
2. NSF—Vasile Ciuciu
3. NSF—Nicolae Ciobanu
4. NSF—Eugen Mitu
5. NSF—Antonie Sindile
6. NSF—Stefan Dirdala
7. NSF—Ioan Paul Cojocaru

Prahova

1. NSF—Petre Turlea
2. NSF—Ionel Blaga
3. NSF—Corneliu Constantin Ruse
4. NSF—Marcel Chiritescu
5. NSF—Adrian Pitca
6. NSF—Horia Florescu
7. NSF—Ilie Nica
8. NSF—Ionel Ardelean
9. NSF—Gheorghe Palade
10. PNL—Mircea Ionescu-Quintus

Satu Mare

1. NSF—Cornel Morar
2. NSF—Gheorghe Lungu
3. UDMR—Ferenc Pecsi
4. UDMR—Attila Varga

Salaj

1. NSF—Victor Halmajean
2. NSF—Ioan Moldovan
3. UDMR—Iuliu Vida

Sibiu

1. NSF—Romeo Marius Trifu
2. NSF—Ioan Bogdan
3. NSF—Dumitru Serban

Suceava

1. NSF—Nicolae Lazar
2. NSF—Bogdan-Victor Grigoriu
3. NSF—Bujor-Bogdan Teodoriu
4. NSF—Epifanie-Tiberiu Maerean
5. NSF—Mircea Bodea
6. NSF—Mihai Chiriac
7. NSF—Sabin-Adrian Dragan
8. NSF—Daniel Catargiu
9. NSF—Viorel Munteanu

Teleorman

1. NSF—Cazimir Ionescu
2. Timotei Stuparu
3. NSF—Ion Nastasescu
4. NSF—Floarea Calota Lupu
5. NSF—Aurel Puiu
6. NDF—Adrian Videanu

Timis

1. NSF—Claudiu Iordache
2. NSF—Dorel Borza
3. NSF—Octavian Dogariu
4. NSF—Gabriel Marinescu
5. NSF—Romulus Paraschivoiu
6. PNL—Ioan Mircea Razvan
7. PNL—Mircea Horia Rusu

Tulcea

1. NSF—Cantemir Gaiar
2. NSF—Elena Preda
3. NSF—Ioan Lazia
4. NSF—Ananie Ivanov

Vaslui

1. NSF—Marian Enache
2. NSF—Martian Dan
3. NSF—Emil Cojocariu
4. NSF—Aurel Gavan
5. NSF—Georgiel Alexandrache
6. NSF—Tiberiu Macovei

Vilcea

1. NSF—Ion-Oltea Toana
2. NSF—Gheorghe Glavan
3. NSF—Dan Vibaia
4. NSF—Gheorghe Pavel
5. NSF—Severin Baciu

Vrancea

1. NSF—Mircea Filimon
2. NSF—Vasile Radulescu
3. NSF—Gheorghe Radulescu
4. NSF—Florin Constantin Baranovschi
5. NSF—Gheorghe Zaharia

Bucharest

1. NSF—Petre Roman
2. NSF—Eugen Dijmarescu
3. NSF—Adrian Nastase
4. NSF—Basarab Catalin Zamfir
5. NSF—Corneliu Dan Zaharia
6. NSF—Mihail Golu
7. NSF—Duvaz Bogdan Nicolae Niculescu
8. NSF—Adrian Severin
9. NSF—Gheorghe Dorin Scortan
10. NSF—Constantin Sorescu
11. NSF—Victor Babiuc
12. NSF—Teodor Horia Mihaiescu
13. NSF—Liviu Muresan
14. NSF—Sorin Teodor Botnaru
15. NSF—Dorin Sarafoleanu
16. NSF—Aurelian Dochia
17. NSF—Daniela Carmen Crasnaru
18. NSF—Costica Canacheu
19. NSF—Mihai Voicu
20. NSF—Adrian Georgescu
21. NSF—Gheorghe Manole
22. NSF—Vioel Lixandroiu
23. NSF—Victoria Cosmin
24. PNL—Dan Lazarescu
25. PNL—Sorin Mircea Botez
26. PNL—Ion Basgan
27. PNL—Horia Radu Pascu
28. NPP [National—Christian-Democratic—Peasant Party]—Ion Diaconescu
29. NPP—Constantin Claus Constantinescu

* Brucan Open Letter Rebuts Media Charges

90BA0148A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 May 90 p 3

["Open Letter to ROMANIA LIBERA" by Silviu Brucan; date not given]

[Text] I noticed that after 20 May your newspaper began carrying clear-sighted and critical analyses of the electoral strategy of the political parties which attempted to provide a more profound explanation for the results returned on that date. That is what encouraged me to write to you, in the hope that, once the period of electoral tension was passed, more favorable conditions emerged for a confrontation of ideas that is one of the essential features of the process of building democracy in Romania. A confrontation of ideas requires the spirit of tolerance for different and even opposed viewpoints that allowed me to publish many articles in your newspaper in the first few months after the revolution.

As you know, I was forced to publish my work in the West and, since in the relevant literature I am viewed as a radical thinker—in the sense that I contested the traditional Marxist and neomarxist theories—my theses were frequently subjected to vehement criticism. In view of the fact that your newspaper assiduously pleads in favor of adopting the principles of Western democracy, it is important for us to become familiar with one of the basic rules of the confrontation of ideas in the Western world.

In the preface to his classical work "Politics Among Nations," Hans Morgenthau wrote: "To be criticized for ideas one never held is the fate of all the authors that embark on controversial subjects," and added: "It is no pleasure for an author to be attacked for ideas he never expressed." A classic from another period, Montesquieu, went even farther: "I want to ask my readers for a favor which I fear will not be granted, namely not to judge the work of 20 years on the strength of several hours of reading; let them approve or condemn the book in its entirety, rather than on the basis of a few selected sentences."

Thus, for example, I once told a British journalist that the 22 December revolution was aimed against Ceausescu's dictatorship and the communist party, which the Romanians legitimately identified with him, but that the theory that the revolution was also directed against the entire communist period after World War II was far-fetched. It was theoretically far-fetched because a revolution will break out in a certain given historical situation—that is why we speak of a revolutionary moment—and not because of the memory of what happened 30 or 40 years back; and it is far-fetched in practice because, although the political system was dictatorial and repressive at that time, too, the economy was seeing the industrialization and electrification of the country, bread rationing and obligatory quotas were lifted, food was not a problem, and in the social area, there was the literacy campaign and the transplantation to urban areas of millions of peasants who had been living in darkness, poverty, and cultural backwardness. In short, there was no revolutionary situation, no revolutionary moment. I may add that in the first two years of Ceausescu's rule, which were marked by promises of liberalization and by the opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia—which misled so many honest intellectuals—there was no revolutionary situation either.

Naturally, this thesis can be contested, criticized, or voided, but the rule I mentioned before requests that I be criticized for what I said rather than for "denying the anticommunist nature of the revolution." Generally speaking, I think that in our new journalism we must stop treating theoretical theses in a populist, grosso modo manner and ignoring the context, arguments, and precise definition of the ideas on which those theses rest.

Another case in point has to do with ignorance of the principles of Western interviews. In contrast to our practice of rendering interviews in dialogue form, in which questions and answers appear very clearly, many Western journalists combine their comments with the interviewee's statements, something that often creates confusion. However, the rule demands that the latter's words be correctly quoted between inverted commas. My interview for THE INDEPENDENT, which you reproduced on 2 February 1990, was edited according to that method. Most of the Romanian readers, unaccustomed to such a thing, attributed to me what was in fact the interpretation of the British reporters. It was obvious that classifications like "intelligent people and stupid people" did not appear in any of my statements between quotation marks. That classification appeared only in the commentary of the two journalists mentioned in the first paragraph; it was they who claimed that I allegedly dreamed of a society divided into those two classes. My statement was quoted only in the second paragraph:

"Intellectuals are tending toward the power everywhere in the world," he said. "They are the only social category capable of handling the information revolution."

The Romanian readership is not familiar with this Western journalistic practice, and the best proof of that is that one person sued me for having called him stupid, although I did not. Even journalists, who should know of this practice, impute to me something I did not say. However, the British newspaper did publish my correction: "I know smart workers and stupid intellectuals."

* Comments on Iliescu, Roman News Conference

90BA0148G Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 May 90 pp 1, 4

[B. Mihai article: "A 16 MM Smile"]

[Text] On Thursday, 24 May, Messrs. Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman held a news conference with the foreign reporters who were present at the 20 May elections and representatives of the Romanian press (except for our paper, who was not invited by the honorable president). Mr. Petre Roman served as decoration—for his irresistible smile—and prompter (whenever the president stumbled).

We will here try to render the main ideas presented, without however neglecting the essence of some issues consciously omitted by Mr. Iliescu (who accused us of lack of fair-play).

From the very beginning the president elect (by 85.16 percent of the votes) proceeded to denigrate the NPP [National—Christian-Democratic—Peasant Party], the NLP [National Liberal Party] and the newspaper DREPTATEA for continuing to exhibit extremist and fascist attitudes and for inciting to violence. One was stunned to hear that. In Bucharest and in the rest of the country there have been hundreds of attacks on party seats and on citizens which ended in injuries and fatalities, damage and destruction, and threats. Even Messrs. Coposu, Ratiu, and Cimpeanu themselves were subjected to attacks organized by the NSF [National Salvation Front]. The entire country was deluged with fliers basely denigrating the NPP and NLP leaders, and the most diabolic stories were invented about them. Apprehension about privatization was sown in the most perfect communist style among workers, playing on their fear of unemployment. Romanian exiles, who had come to help with the recovery of the country, were told in the same poison-stained bits of paper to go back to the countries that gave them shelter during the time of communist persecution.

Mr. President, add together the years you and the other members of the nomenklatura spent in prison and compare them to the years of imprisonment lived by those people you denigrated. You talk of fair play?

You mentioned that anti-Semitic slogans were chanted in the University Square. Do you know how that square looked as of 22 April? Do you know how many thousands of hearts and voices called out your name? Of course, not in the same vein as those who greet you with roses from your own garden.

You also said that Messrs. Teofil Pop and Sever Georgescu, who allegedly went to talk with the "hooligans," were molested. How can you say that without blushing?

You were profoundly bothered by the fact that it is said that you were still a communist, but it is obvious that you will reintroduce in our country that ideology, discarded even in the country of your friend Gorbachev. Do you think that the foreign reporters were content with a sharp "It's a trite slogan to which I won't even bother to reply?" Not to mention us, Romanians. They know full well who you were, who you are, and who you will continue to be.

You were very sarcastic about the results. You asked where were the seven million signatories of the Proclamation of Timisoara who requested, among other things, your removal from the leadership. You really don't know? In the boxes prepared ahead of time to be destroyed and replaced (like in 1946) with ballots stamped on your beautiful flower. Dozens of people came to our newspaper alone to show us the proof. You also talked about the voters' tendency not to vote. Do you know how the voting went in Zalau? "Hey, you, stamp it openly, you have something to hide maybe?" Do you know how many people didn't turn out to vote? More than 20 percent. Have you heard that there have also been double voters lists, some of which also featured names of deceased?

You made the game, like in roulette. Except that the casino owner never loses. And you have had a lot of experience at it. You attended, participated, and were elected in countless legislatures, never mind that they were communist. The main thing is the experience.

The participants in the press conference thought it was a joke that, of all people, it is the Central Electoral Bureau—thanks to whom you are no longer provisional—who will investigate the fraud. The same Electoral Bureau which, in the evening of 20 May at 2345 announced that until that time everything had proceeded perfectly well, except for the fact that an already stamped ballot was found in Iasi.

Similarly funny was your statement that all the parties had equal access to television time; not only that, but Mr. Ratiu allegedly had more appearances than you did. I assume you have a good watch (Orex). You have access to Mr. Razvan Theodorescu even though the television is no longer your domain. Ask him for the tapes. Time them. And then offer a public retraction.

And finally, tired, you mentioned the eminently democratic procedure of those elections. And, addressing the West, you clearly said: "We won't accept a paternalistic attitude. We don't need them to teach us democracy." You are perfectly right. If you were to learn from them, communism, which you theatrically and falsely denounce, would disappear in Romania.

Watching the press conference from my chair, I was thinking of the question I would have asked you if you had honored us with an invitation, since you say you are a democrat and you want to cooperate with the opposition: "Where do you think the road on which you are guiding Romania will lead?"

P.S. I want to ask the forgiveness of Mr. Marin Traian for having appropriated his title, but we could not find a better one for this press conference.

* New Left-Wing Party Allegedly Planned

90BA0148E Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 30 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Serban Sandulescu article: "Prospects for the Moral Purification of the National Salvation Front"]

[Text] In view of the fact that the attention of the entire electorate was focused on the 20 May elections, I was unable to sound the alarm three weeks ago about one of the NSF's [National Salvation Front] long-range battle maneuvers I had found out. The fact that the NSF was dealing with such a thing at that time is another proof that it was certain of the results of the election. It had taken all the legal and less legal measures to win. But the time has not come to discuss those measures, which history will nevertheless have to record in detail.

About three weeks prior to the elections, high-ranking persons close to Comrade Ion Iliescu and Comrade Silviu Brucan, whose positions in the NSF are known to you, began to agitate to locate a few pseudo-personalities less besmirched by the old Ceausescu regime to lay the groundwork for a new left-wing party. This was not the attempt made about two months ago by Comrade Ilie Verdet and his acolytes to revive the former RCP, which seems defunct, but is not and has no death certificate either.

This maneuver aimed at establishing a left-wing party obviously had several objectives.

First of all, to permit all the members of the RCP nomenklatura, activists, and members of the communist repression forces who were not able to come out in the electoral fray under the NSF banner for fear of spoiling the latter's prospects, to play an open role in the future political life. Don't they have the same right as others? Why should only Comrades Ion Iliescu, Silviu Brucan, or Petre Roman be entitled to play a part? They, too, were equally good comrades, and they couldn't stand Ceausescu either.

Secondly, to allow the NSF to clean out its ranks a bit in order to give naive voters an impression of honesty, which it is certain to lose soon, because people cannot remain blind forever.

Thirdly, by removing those compromised RCP figures, who this time voted for the NSF, it will be possible to assuage the honest NSF members, who have already begun to mutter. Time is not working in favor of NSF unity, despite its electoral success which, being too big, can only give food for thought to those who were not involved in their party's electoral machinations.

Fourthly, by creating a party left of it, the NSF will give voters in future elections the false impression of being closer to the political center.

But the movement has other advantages, too, some of them immediate.

As we said at the beginning, the issue was raised long ago. At the time the establishment of such a party was not considered opportune because it might have caused confusion among the nomenklatura, the communist activists, and the securitate members among the NSF, something that would have had a negative impact on election results. It was estimated that those NSF voters could make up 10-15 percent of the entire electorate, as was the case in Hungary and the GDR.

Consequently, it was decided by the higher NSF leadership that the party had to do whatever was necessary to win 70 percent of the votes. Which it did.

In this manner the NSF hopes to persuade the free world that it has the support of more than one half of the country's population, even without the above-mentioned 10-15 percent who, in keeping with Article 8 of the Declaration of Timisoara should not be permitted to participate in the country's political life during three legislatures.

More serious even is the fact that by establishing a second party, some of them think they will be able to eliminate the other parties while continuing to pose as a pluralistic regime. This recipe is more than 45 years old, but I hope that the free world will not be fooled again by such puerile maneuvers.

It seems that this subtle movement was conceived by Comrade Counselor Silviu Brucan, who is known for his talent for such diabolical stratagems, which are too much for Comrade Ion Iliescu, who is much simpler. And the fact that Comrade Ion Iliescu adopted the plan reveals as unfounded the rumor that the relations between the two were allegedly bad or even very bad recently.

Now we must wait for the establishment of the new left-wing party, because none of the many pirate parties created among the 80 some parties we now have fills the bill for the grey eminence of the NSF, namely Silviu Brucan. Also, it remains to be seen who the leaders of this left-wing party will be. I hope they will be hand picked.

Should we wish them success at the next elections? I don't think we need to, because they know how and by what methods to reap communist-type successes. The grandfather party, i.e., the RCP and the father party, i.e., the NSF will help them with great kindness.

My only regret is that before telling you this three-week old "news," I was preempted by Comrade Darie Novaceanu who in his "independent" daily ADEVARUL ended his editorial of 25 May entitled "A Look at the Election" with the sentence, "As a wise observer said almost in jest, the Front will have to finally establish a real party to ensure its chances in the next elections."

I read the editorial and mused to myself, God, how alert and far-sighted are these "independent" observers, beginning with their leader, Comrade Darie Novaceanu.

* Nicu Ceausescu Trial Begins in Sibiu

90BA0148J Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 26 May 90 p 3

[Iustin Moraru report]

[Text] The trial of Nicu Ceausescu (penal file No. 517/P/1989) begins in Sibiu today. He is charged with genocide—a crime cited with sentence under Article 357 paragraph 1 points a and b of the Penal Code—and with violation of the regulations concerning arms and ammunition, cited with sentence in Article 279 paragraph 3 points a and b of the Penal Code, and Article 33 point a of the Penal Code.

We read carefully the indictment writ drafted by Lieutenant Colonel Emil Vaduva, the military prosecutor of the General Prosecutor's Office—Military Prosecution Directorate. We relived in memory moments of the dramatic days of the Revolution. But let us not soften. Let us imagine that we are sitting in on the trial as putative judges. Hence, let us closely look at the facts as they occurred in Sibiu, with all the cool reason of which we are capable and with all the detachment to which we can command ourselves five months after those days of sacrifice and blood.

And once again let us marvel at how little we simple mortals mattered to the dictator's family and their acolytes, since they ordered to fire on peaceful and innocent demonstrators with such ease and cruelty. Let us together reconstruct the Sibiu episode of the revolution and try, yet again, to fathom how it was possible! Thus, with cold hearts and eyes cleared of the fog of tears, let us look truth in the face and shudder to realize in whose hands our irreplaceable and insignificant lives had come to be! And ultimately, let us pronounce the sentence in our inner instance!

Let us remember everything and forget nothing...

At the teleconference of 17 December 1989, the dictator ordered, without batting an eyelid: "All the troops will immediately be issued live ammunition; they are to issue warning, and anyone who doesn't obey will be viewed as a state of emergency and the law will be applied. As of today, all the units of the Interior Ministry, including the militia and the securitate and border troops will carry combat weapons, which means bullets, too, without any discussion; anyone who attacks an officer or a soldier will be dealt with on the spot. Demonstrations are forbidden; anyone who tries will be immediately given warning, arrested, and then we will talk in the spirit of our laws, without any discussion."

Immediately after the teleconference Nicu Ceausescu, first secretary of the former RCP Committee of Sibiu County and chairman of the County Defense Committee, summoned the members of the county bureau and ordered them: "Comrades Dragomir (commander of the Defense Ministry garrison in Sibiu), Radu (chief of staff of the Patriotic Guards), and Rotariu (head of the Interior Ministry County Inspectorate)—you are on alert! You got it: from this moment we

are at war. All the units will be put on fighting alert, not state of emergency. Each one of you will take the necessary measures; report on everything, I also have a direct internal phone. The army, the Interior Ministry units, the guards—act without discussion; you are in position for the state decision: Fire without warning." The crown prince did not disappoint. He behaved like a true scion of the dictator! He was very active. He called up Radu Balan, first secretary of the Timis County, to find out from the horse's mouth what the situation was in Timisoara. He dispatched an officer with tear gas vials and grenades to the city on the Bega to have them used against the demonstrators.

On Tuesday 19 December 1989, Nicu Ceausescu was at his villa, where he was drinking brandy and playing backgammon with Constantin Botoseanu, the head of the former party administration, watched by Eugeniu Pescar, former organizational secretary at the county party committee, and Lieutenant Colonel Camil Stroia, commander of the Sibiu dog-training unit, who were always around him and were usually also present at the parties organized at various mountain retreats in the area. Also present was Major Nicu Silvestru, former head of the County Militia, whom Nicu C. had summoned to find out about the mood of the people of Sibiu and the western counties. We don't know whether Nicu won the backgammon contest. In any case, the other contest, the one for the power, was already as good as lost! But he was behaving as if he did not realize that the dice had been cast! He had learned from Radu Balan that 50-60 people had been killed in Timisoara and he told those who had been watching him play backgammon: "If there are demonstrations in Sibiu County, we shoot; we don't let them do as they please, because they're not going to beat us; we will raze everything!"

Nevertheless, he was very worried. Like his father, he did not trust the people expected to protect him. He was throwing the dice and sensing probably that he was in trouble, he was thinking aloud. He did not trust the securitate and militia men of Sibiu, "who can't even shoot straight." He called Tudor Postelnicu, minister of the interior at the time, and asked him to send up his "specialists" from Bucharest.

In the morning of Thursday 21 December 1989 protest demonstrations began in Sibiu, too. Large groups of workers and other citizens started marching peacefully toward the Republic Square chanting "Down with the dictator!" "Down with the tyrant!" "Down with Ceausescu!" "We want freedom!" and "The army is with us!"

Nicu Ceausescu didn't think long, he acted right away. He went in person to the County Militia Inspectorate and, gesticulating, asked to be followed by the Scutul [shield] platoon to restore order. The platoon went to Gheorghe Lazar Street. At the crossing with General Magheru Street, where the group of demonstrators had arrived, he roughly detained 15-20 persons whom he took to the militia headquarters, where they were made to give statements about their actions and objectives.

To make doubly sure, on the same day of 21 December, Nicu Ceausescu decided to expand his intervention capabilities; so he asked for help from his uncle, Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, head of the Higher Political Council of the Ministry of National Defense. The latter sent to Sibiu 85 engineers from the Rimnicu Vilcea garrison armed with machine guns and 120 bullets each.

Following Nicu Ceausescu's order of 17 December 1989 to fire without warning on the demonstrators, and the measures he took subsequently, the leadership of the County Interior Ministry Inspectorate began to implement the "general plan of action." The plan, recorded under No. 05103 of 4 August 1988, was drafted at secret order No. 02600 of 1 July 1988 issued by former Interior Minister Tudor Postelnicu.

The general plan of action established the troops and means of intervention that were to be used to maintain public order in special situations. As chairman of the County Defense Council, Nicu Ceasuescu had endorsed the plan on 4 August 1988. Consequently, he had every reason to believe that he could deal with the situation. According to that secret general plan, the bodies of repression had been trained to intervene promptly in case of need to put down any rebellion by the malcontent. It was thus not on the spur of the moment, but in accordance with a long-standing scenario, preceding the date of 21 December 1989, that all the securitate and militia cadres were issued, aside from pistols and machine guns, at least 60 7.62 mm bullets each.

Both in Sibiu and in Cisnadie the demonstrators were met with fire. The securitate and militia men shot at the demonstrators. In Sibiu they killed four people: Ioan Mititel, Gheorghe Botei, Liviu Nicolae-Giura, and Vasile Diaconu, and in Cisnadie two: Richard Luft and Tibor Sobius. Eleven demonstrators were injured in both Sibiu and Cisnadie.

After the Scutul platoon was alerted-which committed serious acts of reprisal against the demonstrators—Nicu Ceausescu withdrew to the headquarters of the former county party committee, where he remained until after midnight. He asked for detailed reports about the scope of the revolution and ordered the Interior and Defense Ministry troops to intervene to suppress the demonstrators. There is no doubt that he was on alert. He had telephone talks with Tudor Postelnicu (twice) and with Brigadier General Iulian Vlad and Major General Geanu Bucurescu. He wanted to know about the situation in the other areas of the country. In the course of the evening of 21 Dedcember he also talked to Emil Bobu and Lt. Gen. Ilie Ceausescu, and insisted that they send reinforcements to Sibiu. He left the county party seat late, about 0030, when he left for his villa escorted by four armed security officers. He spent the night there with Daniela Vladescu, one of his girl friends.

In the morning of 22 December around 0700 he entered for the last time the former county party committee seat. He immediately had a talk with Elena Ceausescu, who

inquired about the situation in Sibiu. Their hours in power were counted, but they didn't seem able to accept such a thing. Around 1030-1100, after the death of Brigadier General Vasile Milea, he had another—his last!—telephone talk with his mother.

Large groups of demonstrators had come out in the streets of Sibiu again, defying death. They were demonstrating peacefully for freedom and democracy and demanding the removal of the Ceausescu clan from power. The crowds went both to the headquarters of the former county party committee, and to the county militia inspectorate. Like on the previous day, they were met with bullets. This time, however, the cruelty was unimaginable. The securitate and militia men fired into the demonstrators, killing 16 people alone in the neighborhood of the Interior Ministry building: Gheorghe Corduneanu, Ioan Coman, Florian Damian, Nicolae Farcas, Dan Gindila, Gheorghe Gavril, Hans-Werned Lutsch, Ioan Hihali, Ioan Onu, Valentin Radu, Dumitru Stancu, Victor Sarac, Mihai Sebes, Erika Sencovits, Ioan Talpos—a schoolboy—and Sergeant Dan Mititi of the military unit 01512 Sibiu, and injuring another 57. In the immediately following days, members of the Interior Ministry continued to resist and to open fire on civilians from various locations, killing another 65 people and wounding 139.

After the dictator escaped, groups of armed securitate and militia men came out of the Interior Ministry county building and began shooting at demonstrators and soldiers, killing seven and injuring 27. They jumped the fence into the military unit No. 01512 Sibiu, but were seized and disarmed. At that time the dictator had already fled! Why did people still have to die? During the days of the Revolution 89 people died in Sibiu and Cisnadie and 218 were wounded.

In those unclear and dramatic conditions, Nicu Ceausescu was called by Domestic Trade Minister Ana Muresan to come to Bucharest and take over the leadership!

The events succeeded each other very rapidly. Nicu Ceausescu once again appealed to his uncle Lt. Gen. Ilie Ceausescu for help. The latter promised his nephew to send a helicopter to Sibiu so that he could leave the area. The father had just managed to escape in a helicopter, and the son was trying to emulate him. He was in a great hurry and, in order to gain time, he asked Major Nicolae Dochinaru, commander of the military unit No. 01989 of Sibiu to get him a helicopter. The latter, however, refused, saying that he couldn't do that without approval from higher up.

Around 1230 Nicu Ceausescu, accompanied by five armed securitate men and other leading cadres of the former county party committee left in a Dacia car with a false license plate toward the Sibiu airport, where the helicopter promised by his uncle was expected. Shots could be heard from the direction of the city. He remembered his lover, Daniela Vladescu. She was brought to the airport, too. He waited a while, but no helicopter came. The motorcade started off toward Alba Iulia. Before leaving Sibiu County, Nicu Ceausescu climbed into the Oltcit car with the license plate 4-B-312 driven by Daniela Vladescu. They followed the Sibiu-Copsa Mica-Agnita-Fagaras-Codlea-Sinaia-Cimpina-Ploiesti route to Bucharest. They arrived in Baneasa around 1900. There Nicu Ceausescu was recognized and detained by soldiers and members of the patriotic guards.

What a strange similarity between the escape of the Ceausescu couple and their son's. There was, after all, some symmetry in their fates. The "young prince" had wanted to follow in his parents' footsteps in everything, and now he seemed to imitate them in the fall, too. Both the two dictators and their son began by thinking that they could escape the fury of the people and tried to fly the coop by helicopter. Then came the terror of the pursuit. They were hounded down, recognized, seized, and arrested. Did the "young prince" still hope to get his hands on power? Was he so remote from reality that he could hope to make us happy by continuing his father's disastrous "foundations?" Hard to believe. But, in that case, why did he go to Bucharest? Was he expected there to take over the command of the forces hostile to the Revolution? Was that "shift" also envisaged in some secret plan? We will probably never know. The questions are many and legitimate, but let us not rush into answers; the trial of the "young prince" is only beginning.

Foreign Secretary Discusses Romanian Relations

LD1206163290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar today expressed Yugoslavia's readiness to fully engage, directly and within all-round relations with neighboring Romania, in different forms of help to the Serbian and Croatian minority in Romania, primarily in the field of culture and publishing.

In a talk with a delegation of the Democratic Alliance of Serbs from Romania, which includes also representatives of the Croatian minority, Loncar said that the major democratic changes in Romania are improving scopes for strengthening contacts of minorities with the mother country and that Yugoslavia, with regard to this, would do everything it can.

Loncar also recalled Yugoslavia's proposal, submitted on behalf of the five member-countries of the so-called "pentagonal" at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Copenhagen, for institutionalizing questions of minorities in the future process of European security and cooperation, which was immediately upheld by Romania.

The representatives of minorities particularly insisted on strengthening direct contacts which should also be, according to them, particularly specified in the future agreement on cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania.

The representatives of Yugoslav minorities in Romania spoke about the need for strengthening border cooperation and opening new border-crossings between the two countries. They assessed that greater circulation of people for whom now, after the changes in Romania, there are no obstacles, would contribute to the revoking of the Yugoslav Government decision on the compulsory exchange of 200 U.S. dollars for citizens from East European countries upon entry into Yugoslavia.

Budimir Loncar informed guests that the measure has already been lifted for citizens of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and that negotiations with other countries were underway.

The delegation was also received by premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Dr. Stanko Radmilovic. During the talks, questions were discussed concerning the position and rights of members of the Serbian people who are living in Romania as a national minority and also about the activities of the Republic of Serbia which are aimed at preserving the national and cultural being of the minority.

SFRY-Greek Border Reportedly 'Will Be Blocked'

LD1406194190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Skopje, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Passenger and railway traffic on all three Yugoslav-Greek border crossings will be blocked at midnight June 15 for protest meetings to be held at noon June 16. The meetings were called because of selective treatment of Yugoslavs regarding their obtaining Greek visas. The Greek authorities, which do not recognize the Macedonian nation, decline issuing entry visas to Yugoslav citizens originating from Aegean Macedonia in Greece's north.

At a meeting in Gevgelia today, held by the protest preparing committee, content was pointed out with yesterday's stand of the State Presidency towards demanding the full respect of the reciprocity principle in mutual relations between Yugoslavia and Greece. The committeemen, nonetheless, insisted on a protest to be held to urge the passing of the final decision on reciprocity.

In applying reciprocity steps, Yugoslav customs officials at the Bogorodice-Evzoni crossing sent back those Greek citizens who had not in their possession the amount of foreign exchange prescribed for staying in Yugoslavia.

Previously, at the same border crossing, the Greek authorities returned about one hundred Yugoslavs each of them having not had 1,000—West German marks, the amount required for stay in Greece according to Greek regulations.

Loncar Greets Danube Basin Forum Participants

LD1406212590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Mayors of 19 cities from eight Danube Basin countries—Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—met at Belgrade's Sava Centre today to discuss the ecological protection of the Danube.

On behalf of the Yugoslav Government, the participants were greeted by Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, who pointed out the importance of raising the level of cooperation among Danube Basin countries, as a European and world option for reaching democracy, prosperity and peace.

The strengthening of mutual cooperation and [word indistinct] and more concrete definition of methods of further engagement of Danube Basin cities in protecting the Danube from pollution and improving the life and work conditions of people living on its shores were quoted as the main expectations of the conference.

Multiparty 'Pre-Parliament' Proposed in Assembly

LD1306145190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The representatives of some ten Yugoslav political parties discussing

the proposed amendments to the federal constitution at a round table in Belgrade, on Wednesday [13 June] agreed to launch the initiative for convening a multiparty pre-parliament in the assembly of Yugoslavia.

According to the proposal made by chairman of the Belgrade branch of the association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Dr Nebojsa Popov, all political parties in Yugoslavia would be invited to send their representatives to the meeting and discuss the constitutional changes.

The multiparty pre-parliament would meet eight days after June 15, the date set for a public debate on the constitutional amendments. An official request for the gathering to be held in the assembly building will be sent to the competent authorities, the round table participants were told.

Serbian LC, SAWP Merger Analyzed, Formalized

'Transformation' Discussed

AU1306120990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Jun 90 p 13

[TANJUG report: "A Unification To Be Pondered"]

[Text] Belgrade—The initiative of the Presidiums of the League of Communists [LC] and the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia to set up a socialist party in this republic should not interfere in the work of the Committee for Preparing the Congress of the Programmic and Democratic Renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. At this body's session yesterday, it was assessed that this initiative represents a contribution to discussions on the transformation of the LCY and that the Serbian initiative will be discussed by working groups preparing the new program and statute of the LCY which are otherwise obliged to submit a concept for these documents to this body by its next session.

In the debate on the transformation of the LCY, different views were expressed, however, on the significance and consequences of the initiative concerning the unification of the LC and SAWP of Serbia for the future profile of the LCY. It was also said that this involved a radically new element, and the representative of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina announced that the LC of this republic would later be deciding on the participation of its members in the work of the aforementioned groups. The pace of the work on preparing the forthcoming congress was also set at the same time.

Although members of the committee did not present their opinions on the initiative from Serbia, the very fact that this was virtually the only thing discussed at the session confirmed that this involved a quite "new element." In reply to a question from Dzevad Tasic "on the overall situation in the LCY since the initiative," Petar Skundric said that this is a most radical contribution to the transformation of the LC of Serbia as a part of the LCY, and conditions are being created for the organization of Yugoslav communists to be transformed into a modern socialist and democratic party.

He stressed also that the LC of Serbia has not thereby renounced the strategic orientations of the communist movement—social justice, freedom, and the citizen as the supreme goal—but that, in line with the demands of the membership, it has made it possible for the battle by the LC and other left-oriented forces for the construction of democratic socialism and a modern federal Yugoslavia to acquire new stimulus.

Momir Bulatovic was of the opinion that because of the changed situation in the LC of Serbia, as well as in the LC of Slovenia and Croatia and other parts of the LC, the work of the working groups should be frozen until the dilemma is resolved of whether the LC will continue to be a unified organization or whether it will establish more solid forms of cooperation with all left-oriented forces in the country.

Saying that we are on the threshold of a "radical discontinuation" of the whole LCY organization, which the initiative from the LC of Serbia has only made official, Dzevad Tasic advocated the formation of working groups for preparing the new program and statute of the LCY should not be set up at this session but that the aims of the committee should be seen through further discussion. This is because—he added—the committee as defined at the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress is somewhat different from the body whose work would include representatives of 15 or 20 left-oriented parties. This is inevitable, Tasic thought, but this cannot be done overnight without previous "thought."

Nedeljko Sipovac asked why the initiative from Serbia would interfere with the work of the committee and pointed out that working groups should in fact be set up which would prepare the congress of renewal and unification on the basis of the existing documents and agreements with all parts of the LCY and left-oriented forces in the country. Rahman Morina also advocated that the work of the committee and its bodies continue but he also thought that it should be seen what was desired from the congress of renewal and that prior consultations were needed.

In a similar way to Bulatovic, Bozidar Grubisic stressed that the future physiognomy of the LCY should be methodically worked out—regarding whether a block of left forces connected through cooperation is desired or an organization with unified programmic foundations—and the work of the committee should be speeded up to reply to this dilemma.

We do not have the power to act in any other way but to continue the preparations for the congress, Rados Smiljkovic stressed, adding that neither did they have the power to expand the committee with other parties. Pointing out that a wide foundation for the transformation of the LCY had been presented at the 14th Congress, he said that "there is no reason to interpret in a different way what one LC organization is doing." Especially since a change to the orientation of the party had not been proposed in Serbia but the unification of the LC of Serbia with the republican SAWP and not some right-wing party.

Recalling that the aim of the committee's work was to gather together representatives of all parts of the LC around common strategic orientations to act as a Yugoslav alliance, Miroslav Ivanovic, committee chairman, said that a decision on including other left-wing parties in its work should be made after the congress of renewal and after the appropriate stands had been built into the new program and statute of the LCY. He then proposed that the Serbian initiative on unification be discussed in the committee's working groups, concluding that a debate should be held in all parts of the LCY on the basic concept of the new organization of Yugoslav communists before the committee's next session.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

An Organization of Heirs to the LCY?

Momir Bulatovic said that he "thought that reality should be faced and work should be done so that a congress of the LCY is not held on the 29 September but a congress of the 'organization of heirs to the positive experiences of the LCY,' which would be closer to socialist and social democratic orientations." He therefore pleaded for the committee—in consultation with all parts of the LC and other left-wing parties in the country—to establish who would be willing to enter a bloc of these forces in Yugoslavia and to continue this work, so that it would offer them a programmic "calling card" for such a gathering.

Report on Serbian 'Unity'

AU1506043990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 90 p 3

[M. Torov report: "Unity—A Question of Serbia's Survival"]

[Text] Belgrade—Just as the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia were leaving the great hall of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, a debate began at precisely 1400 in the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia on the unification of the two parties which, contrary to all expectations, had quite a critical tone. Most criticism was because of the surprise proposal that has come at the height of the public debate on the transformation of the SAWP.

According to the introductory speech by Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, it has most often been pointed out in the public debate that in the vehement multiparty struggle for power only a party [stranka] has any hope of achieving its program's aims. The response to the deluge of single-nationality parties and alliances, some of which are pushing us directly into fratricidal war, can be seen in the formation of a bloc of socialist, democratic, and other patriotic forces whose aim is a democratic Serbia and a humane society. This is also essentially in the direction of the policy that has been chosen and supported by the people of Serbia. All these arguments were also presented in the debate on the reform of the LC of Serbia which has lasted several months.

For us, the unity and success of the left wing stand above all doctrinaire debates, above all electoral calculations, and above all careerist stimuli. For us, this is a question of Serbia as a democratic, progressive, and developed, primarily unified state. For us, this is in fact a question of Serbia's survival, Radmila Andjelkovic said.

Her speech was greeted with applause; thus the initiative on the unification of the LC and the SAWP was supported and the majority of participants in the discussion expressed the membership's desire for Slobodan Milosevic to be elected as its president. Sveto Djordjevic told the conference that the proposal had also been supported in the Sumadija and Pomoravlje region, where it had been assessed as a wise move.

Observing that the proposal had appeared at the height of the public debate, which had come as a surprise, Radovan Pankov, president of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Vojvodina, informed the meeting that the presidents of the communal conferences of the SAWP, as well as the provincial conference yesterday, had supported this proposal, believing that there was sufficient time to work out the activity of the left-wing front. However, he pointed out that—being aware of the circumstances and particularities in Vojvodina—it could happen that this initiative would not be accepted in some parts of Vojvodina. He also put forward the view that the new party should not shut itself up but should leave open the possibility of citizens expressing themselves through a forum. In this respect, he cited the words of an agricultural worker, who had stated that he was not a member of the party and that for 45 years he could express his views only through the SAWP.

In the words of Zivorad Igic, the proposal had been supported in the last few days in Pristina and actually in the Presidium of the Communal Conference of the SAWP, since it had been assessed as the most optimal way to strengthen left-wing forces in the struggle for a strong republic. The proposal was also supported for Slobodan Milosevic to be president of the new organization.

Supporting these proposals, Halid Trnavci, member of the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference, said that it was a mistake to think that this was the end of socialism. In his opinion, this is the beginning of a new model of socialism. As he said, there was no need to be ashamed of the path that the SAWP and the LC had trodden because much had been achieved and instances of resistance were only the dirty tricks of rascals.

Zivota Cvetkovic, delegate from Aleksandrovac, was more critical than his predecessors. "I did not realize," he said, "that the initiative should be supported with applause, but that there is also room for a critical assessment."

"The initiative has been supported in our body but the method has not been the most suitable because we have not even begun the public debate, so I therefore do not support every sentence in the introductory speech. This proposal was also a kind of promotion which is being carried out by the City Committee of the LC of Belgrade and Rados Smiljkovic. Why is the LC City Committee promoting our party? See, even now our organization has its guardians. We want democracy but we are not giving a chance for a third alternative to be present. And another thing—we are advocating a multiparty system but we are running away from having several left-wing parties in the left wing," Zivota Cvetkovic said.

Welcoming the proposal for the election of Slobodan Milosevic, Predrag Kikovic, a Zajecar representative, warned, "Let us not begin to be wrapped up in ourselves but let us have the people as our only goal." The youth representative, Tomislav Kresovic, even saw yesterday's speeches as part of "the old method of having the introductory speech and then support from the communes and regions." He had been struck by several questions ranging from what had happened since the decision of the 11th Congress of the LC of Serbia to rid the LC of its political monopoly, to the question of the difference between communists and socialists. In his opinion, at least another two candidates should be proposed besides Slobodan Milosevic for president of the new organization; he thought that these should be Bogdan Trifunovic and Radmila Andjelkovic because otherwise this would amount to, as he put it, the "fuehrer principle of one leader, one people, and one party."

His speech, which was not received without applause, was augmented by Mile Lazarevic, who said that "the majority of leaders in these political organizations would not be successful."

This debate, that was begun in a critical tone, continued into the late afternoon hours.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Collective Members

"We can freely say that if the LC has been the ideological fighter on the strong wave of democratization then the SAWP has borne the burden of the political-organizational work. Our present proposal proceeds from the necessity to organize a broadly open Socialist Party of Serbia, a party of democratically and patriotically oriented citizens and all other individuals and organizations which support democratic socialism, a democratic Serbia, and a democratic federal Yugoslav state. The formation of a new socialist party also implies the possibility of collective membership, which is otherwise recognized by parliamentary democracy abroad. Our present collective members will have their place in the future party, too, if they adhere to the same programmic orientations," Radmila Andjelkovic said.

A Lot of Talk

We have been talking a lot about Slobodan Milosevic. We do not need this kind of courtship, but let us ask our comrades to be more consistent in implementing his ideas, Zivota Cvetkovic said.

Amalgamation Deemed 'Logical'

AU1006195490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] and the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] should, at their separate sessions scheduled for tomorrow, endorse the initiative launched by the Presidiums of these two sociopolitical organizations regarding the amalgamation of these two organizations into a Socialist Party of Serbia. The congress should be held by 15 July. In the reaction received thus far, this proposal was assessed as a logical and mature political move. Here is a commentary by Zivojin Jerotijevic:

[Jerotijevic] The idea concerning the amalgamation of the Serbian left-wing parties and based on the principles of a classical socialist party has emerged from a general public debate on the transformation of the LC and the SAWP. In this debate, it was concluded that in the past three years the LC of Serbia proved itself as a true fighter for democratic socialism and a federal Yugoslavia, while the SAWP proved itself as a people's party capable of expressing the essential interests of the people in Serbia and consistently fighting for their realization.

The amalgamation of these organizations into a modern political party is therefore a logical outcome of the aspirations of the party membership and the citizens of Serbia for the left-wing parties to unite so that they can more effectively oppose the advance of the right-wing parties and successfully carry out, on the same program platform, the projects, worked out almost to the last detail, for building a united state of Serbia and achieving social and economic prosperity (?in democracy).

In addition to extending full support for this initiative, in the reaction so far people have also expressed some fairly wise warnings. First, there was a warning that by the merger congress, which will be held in a relatively short period of time, one should resolve numerous organizational, technical, cadre, and political questions, such as the question of cooperation with the parties of similar political orientations and contacts with the parties of different provenance. Another outstanding question is the question of membership in the united parties of the left, because the dilemma as to whether to apply automatism or to retain the possibility for individuals to express preferences separately has not yet been resolved.

In any case, what was said is that one must not hinder a possible initiative for a special political organization of

those individuals who are emotionally tied to the communist character of the movement to which they belonged for a long time.

There were only some sporadic attempts to create a coalition instead of the united LC and SAWP to allegedly avoid the assimilation of the widest democratic movement and prevent the contraction of the front as a party. However, out of the two options, the wish according to which the LC should preserve the social class and ideological characteristics based on communist traditions, and the real need for the amalgamation of all left-wing forces in Serbia that has been restricted by numerous internal and external factors, the option which will (?eliminate) faster and more permanently the traumas of totalitarianism, the burden of the past, or attempts to settle the old accounts, or to continuously and repeatedly count victims, should prevail.

The modern times require a political party turned toward the future, progress, and prosperity. People are fed up with having to tighten their belts and with having anxiety in both the material and spiritual sense. They simply want to live better. If the creation of the united left-wing party is directed toward this aim, and everything indicates that this is the case, then the question of some ideological and similar prejudices is extremely marginal.

The founding of a new party will facilitate the creation of new political energy badly needed by the left-wing organizations in the multiparty system and upcoming parliamentary elections, especially in light of the fact that the LC has lost much of its attractiveness and prestige since the interruption of the last congress. From this point of view, it is rational to form a new party which would be of a inspirational value for the homogenization and strengthening of the left-wing bloc throughout the entire Yugoslav political arena.

New 'Socialist Party' Formed

LD1306144890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1347 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The merging of the Communist Party of Serbia with the Socialist Alliance of this Yugoslav republic into a socialist party today was upheld at a joint meeting of the League of Communists of Belgrade and the city Socialist Alliance.

The proposal that the future party be headed by current Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was also upheld at the meeting.

The participants of the meeting dealt more with criticism of the opposition than their own future party, probably pressured by the protest rally organized by the opposition which started today at 14:00, local time, in Belgrade. The opposition is seeking multi-party elections in Serbia prior to the adoption of the republican constitution.

The Serbian people are once again undergoing a new split over the question what is to come first—the constitution, which is upheld by the communists' or multiparty elections, which the opposition is seeking, a participant at the meeting said. It was also set out that both sides invoke the people, while at the same time both are motivated by their own reasons. As a result, the leaders of all the parties have been called to approach the negotiating table and discuss everything.

Serbian Opposition, Leaders' Conflict Continues

Elections 'After' New Constitution

LD1406161690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] London, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Foreign secretary of Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, Dr Aleksandar Prlja today stated at a news conference in London that multi-party elections in Serbia will be held immediately after the new republican constitution is adopted.

Prlja denied claims made by Serbian opposition parties that they are not permitted to take part in the drawing up of the new constitution. The constitution, as he underscored, will be adopted by a referendum in which all citizens will take equal part, including members of all opposition parties.

Prlja accused the opposition parties of not coming out with their programs publically but are exclusively oriented to criticism of the program offered by the Serbian leadership.

Prlja said that the future Socialist Party of Serbia, which will be formed by the merging of the League of Communists and the socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, will not be "a rechristened communist party."

Prlja arrived in Great Britain in order to take part in the work of the European Regional Assembly standing committee whose associate members are the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Serbia while Croatia is an observer.

Serbian opposition parties have just launched an "offensive" against the ruling communists who have still not definitely said when the elections would take place.

Opposition parties yesterday organized a rally in Serbia's and Yugoslavia's capital, Belgrade, demanding that the elections be held prior to the adoption of the constitution and by the end of the year. Over 10,000 people took part in the rally.

Meeting With Opposition Canceled

LD1406115490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Due to hooligan-like behavior and the endangerment of public peace and order on the part of the participants of yesterday's rally organized by the five opposition parties, and due to the

knife attack on policeman Branislav Nikolic in front of Belgrade Television, President of the Serbian Assembly Zoran Sokolovic canceled the meeting with representatives of the opposition parties, which had been announced for today. This was stated by the Serbian Assembly's information service.

Police 'Intervention' Protested

LD1406193890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The leaders of five Serbian opposition parties at todays news conference expressed bitterness and protested against the "brutal and groundless" intervention by the police, which resulted in the dispersal of the demonstrations of several hundred sympathizers of the opposition in front of the building of television Belgrade.

On the occasion, more than one hundred people were beaten and one demonstrator was seriously injured, the police fractured his collar bone, the opposition said. One of the most prominent authors, Borisav Pekic, also was beaten, together with president of the Democratic Party Dr Dragoljub Micunovuc.

Five opposition parties yesterday organized an anti-communist rally in Belgrade's main square, demanding an urgent scheduling of the first multi-party elections in Serbia in the post-war period. Some of the rally participants continued their protest in front of the TV building demanding the resignation of the director who is close to the Serbian leadership.

The opposition asserts today that the demonstrations were peaceful and police intervened without warning just as the protest outside the TV building was getting to its close.

The opposition condemns "those who issued orders for the brutal intervention", blaming in the first place the League of Communists of Serbia and its leadership for what it said was "an unnecessry act."

Milenko Radic of the National [word indistinct] Party said that "Serbia is being ruled by the four M's: Milosevic (Serbia's president), Mitevic (Belgrade TV director), Minovic (POLITIKA director), and Militia (police)."

Serbian Interior Secretary Radmilo Bogdanovic told a session of the republic's government today that "police intervention was being put off up to the maximum tolerance."

He asserted that demonstrators behaved extremely aggressively and destructively, damaging one vehicle, while police took in two persons.

The opposition said it would "sue the Republic of Serbia" and demanded that the (?republic's) interior secretary be replaced.

Separate Elections Threatened

LD1506031490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2343 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Opposition parties in Serbia said at this evening's roundtable meeting that in case the opposition's demands for the urgent holding of multiparty elections in that republic are not met the opposition itself would organize such elections.

Pointing out that the Socialist Alliance of Serbia, which was in charge of organizing elections, would cease to exist after its merger with the League of Communists into a United Socialist Party, head of the Democratic Party Dragoljub Micunovic said elections could be organized locally by so-called "roundtables" of parties which were representing the people. Representatives of the popular Democratic Alternative, the Democratic Forum, the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Popular Radical Party, the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Serbia, which the Serbian authorities are accusing of aiding ethnic Albanian separatists in the province of Kosovo by demanding urgent multiparty elections, said they were against a dialogue with the Kosovo alternative.

New Executive Powers Proposed

LD1406205190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today proposed the passing of a law which would enable the justice, legislative and executive organs of the republic to suspend organs in the provinces should they evaluate that they are not executing their constitutional duties and are not ensuring peace and security to citizens.

The law, as elaborated, is being proposed in order to prevent a collapse of the legal system in the Province of Kosovo which is the focus of inter-nationality clashes in Yugoslavia.

The Serbian medieval state was established on the territory of present-day Kosovo and Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, lays claims on it almost 90 percent of the population in the province today, however, (?it is composed) of ethnic Albanians who are demanding greater independence from the Republic of Serbia.

The law, proposed by the Serbian Government, envisages that the republican assembly itself, at the proposal of the republic's Presidency, decide on suspension. It will also be [words indistinct] annual every regulation taken by the provincial authorities if it assesses it as unconstitutional.

The law should be passed at a meeting of the republican assembly scheduled for June 26.

In the meantime, dissatisfacton is growing in the Province of Kosovo over greater power of the republican organs. The Academy of Arts and Sciences, composed exclusively of ethnic Albanians, today assessed that the Serbian Presidency proposal for the adoption of the new constitution is

unacceptable because it is "aimed at degrading the being and constitutional position of the province."

The members of the academy are demanding from the provincial assembly that the majority ethinic Albanians be regarded as a nation in future and not a nationality as has been done so far. They also demand that it be passed as a separate constitutional declaration which would determine the new constitutional position of Kosovo.

Kosovo Albanians Asked To 'Exert Pressure'

AU1206190490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Kosovo—live or recorded]

[Text] [Mihajlovic] In several different leaflets that have been distributed over the last few days in Pristina, and other places in Kosovo, Albanian separatists have again been calling on Albanian nationals to [word indistinct] and advocating the final achievement of the goal of creating a greater Albania.

In one of the leaflets, the Albanian separatists have even given instructions on how to carry out the kidnapping of more prominent Serbs and Montenegrins and their children to force the Slav population to emigrate from Kosovo. The leaflet calls for solidarity and recommends to Albanians that they arm themselves as best they can.

Apart from these familiar calls to the Albanian people, the new leaflet also contains a call to take advantage of the political circumstances in Serbia. Thus, tomorrow is mentioned as a good occasion for the separatists' actions, as this is the day when the Serbian leadership should fall, according to the leaflet. Clearly, the writers of this leaflet mean the meeting that has been announced for tomorrow by the Serbian opposition in Belgrade, and they stress that a coalition should be formed at all costs with that part of the Serbian opposition which agree to this to bring down the republic's leadership as easily as possible.

Furthermore, it is recommended in the leaflet that Albanian separatists organize various activities and exert pressure on the present authorities in several towns, including Belgrade and Pristina, as well as other places in Kosovo.

Alternative Kosovo Trade Union To Be Founded

LD1306204590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Independent Trade Union of Kosovo, which endeavors to rally ethnic Albanian workers, today announced at a news conference in Pristina that the founding assembly of the alternative organization would be held on June 23 in the capital of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo.

It was underscored that the Independent Trade Union of Kosovo wishes to establish a dialogue with everyone and for this reason calls on representatives of all republican and provincial trade unions to take part in the work of the Assembly.

The leadership of the Independent Trade Union of Kosovo today again upheld representatives of trade unions in Kosovo enterprises who protested against the "laying off from work of ethnic Albanian cadres." The alternative trade unionists claim that their posts were being taken over by members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, without undergoing job competitions. Employing them are enterprise managements which invoke the Yugoslav program for Kosovo, adopted by the Federal Parliament, which founders of the alternative trade union do not mention.

Journalists were also handed a statement of the Independent Trade Union of Kosovo postal workers which demands that Djordje Bozovic be dismissed from his post as president of the provincial Assembly. The provincial government is being asked to draw up a draft law on free elections in Kosovo and to adopt it as quickly as possible. It has also been demanded that a new Kosovo constitution be drawn up which will make Kosovo an equal unit in the Federation, i.e. Yugoslav Confederation.

A meeting of the Presidency of Trade Unions of Kosovo (the official provincial trade union organization), was held in Pristina today at which it was pointed out that around 86,000 ethnic Albanian members left the ranks of the official trade union, influenced by the Kosovo alternative, which is around half of the total number of employed ethnic Albanians in the province.

Slovene Defense Commander Replacement Demanded

LD1406210890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The State Presidency of Slovenia today asked the Yugoslav State Presidency to replace commander of territorial defense of Slovenia General Ivan Hocevar.

Member of the Republican Presidency Dr Dusan Plut told the Republican parliament that Hocevar is held responsible for the "deterioration of security and political circumstances after the decision on transferring territorial defence weapons to the arsenals of the Yugoslav People's Army."

Due to the deterioration of political circumstances and inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia, the State Presidency had recently brought the decision on the transfer of weapons from territorial defence arsenals to Army arsenals in barracks, in order to prevent possible abuses.

Plut said that Hocevar implemented the state Presidency decision without informing the Republican Presidency.

Commanders of some regional and municipal headquarters refused to obey Hocevar's orders. The Slovenian Presidency decided to assume full responsibility for their decision.

Montenegro Approves Draft Amendments

LD1406094290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1455 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Titograd, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—The proposed amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution ensure radical changes in the economic and political system, particularly in the field of ownership and production relations, it was assessed today by delegates of the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, who today approved the adoption of the draft amendments to the country's constitution.

The Montenegrin parliament today, among other things, pointed out the Yugoslav orientation of the draft amendments to the constitution, which ensure a legal basis for spreading and strengthening unity in the multi-national country.

The government of Yugoslavia's largest republic of Serbia today also discussed the draft amendments to the federal Constitution. It was assessed that the draft amendments contain a certain number of solutions necessary for the realization of the announced key changes in the political and economic system of Yugoslavia.

However, it was stressed that there is a danger of watering down the amendments by including numerous alternatives which could result in the majority of the economy questions remaining outside the constitutional changes.

A procedure is underway in Yugoslavia for the adoption of amendments to the basic Constitution adopted in 1974, of late exposed to criticism from various parts of the country. The draft amendments were worked out by the Yugoslav federal government, and it is now being approved by the federal units.

Markovic Addresses Farmer Representatives

LD1506030890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The FEC [Federal Executive Council] maintains that the Federal Commodity Reserves will purchase this year's wheat at the price set by the market. The protective price of wheat will come in effect only in the event of no one buying the volume of wheat offered, FEC President Ante Markovic said in his conversation with representatives of the republics and provinces' farmers' associations.

To avoid speculation in purchasing, something that the representatives of the republican associations of farmers from Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, and the socialist autonomous province of Vojvodina drew attention to, the FEC maintains that a solution should be agreed whereby all supplies would be paid at the price of first-class wheat. The FEC also insists that the measures of monetary and taxation policies, which are being implemented, "penetrate" to the farmer, and particularly that priority in purchasing be given to the private sector over socially-owned farms.

In carrying out the socioeconomic reform we "have ploughed a deep furrow" and we are also fighting for four primary aims—for greater economic efficiency, political pluralism, a state governed by law, and various forms of ownership, Markovic stressed.

In our struggle to make the agricultural produce market function, private producers are our allies. By subsidies and by abolishing taxes, a significant step toward a more equal treatment of the social and private sector has been made, so they will soon be absolutely equal. A new protective and taxation system is also being devised, the most significant novelty of which will be the lowering of taxes and levies; that is, only customs duties will remain, but they will be dispersed across a wider range of products. In this way both private and social producers in agriculture are protected. The significant moves, among the other ones for developing agriculture more quickly, are a liberalization of imports, a reduction in discount rates, preventing interest rates from rising, increasing funds for stimulation in agriculture, etc. The revitalization of rural communities is the most essential issue in the FEC's long-term agricultural policy. [passage omitted]

Farmers Support Policy

LD1506031190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2340 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Representatives of peasants' alliances in Yugoslavia said today they were satisfied with what the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic had done for the development of private agricultural production and would form an alliance or a coalition with the political party the government has said it intends to form.

The government announced that the desire was expressed today in a conversation with Prime Minister Ante Markovic by representatives of peasants' alliances from the republics of Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia and the province of Vojvodina.

Markovic said that private agricultual producers were an ally of the government in the fight for the functioning of the market of agricultural and food products.

He pointed out that the government had by introducing subsidies and abolishing taxes made a significant step towards equalizing the position of the public and private sectors in the agriculture, which will soon become fully equal.

BORBA Conducts Poll on Army, Police

AU1206152890

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 5 June on page 7 carries an approximately 4,000-word report by Slobodanka Bakic-Golubovic on the results of a public-opinion poll carried out by the BORBA market research center about the types of police and army that Yugoslavia should have, entitled "We Are Relatively Stable."

BORBA polled 300 citizens, "10 from five bigger cities from each of the six republics," by randomly selecting every 30th telephone subscriber. The results are presented in several tables of which the main are as follows:

Table 1. "What kind of army does Yugoslavia need?" (figures expressed in percentages)

Montenegro:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Army	53
2. The One We Already Have	21
3. Well-Organized Army	7
4. An Army That Would Always Be Ready	7
5. Depoliticized Army	5
6. Army With Shorter Service	2
7. Loyal Army, Army That Would Respect Law	2
8. Stricter Army	1
9. Something Else	2
Total	100
Serbia: (figures as published)	
1. Unified Yugoslav Army	36
2. The One We Already Have	14
3. Professional Army	10
4. Depoliticized Army	8
5. Modern Army	8
6. Republican Armies	4
7. Cheaper Army	4
8. Something Else	4
9. Do Not Know	14
Total	100
Macedonia:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Army	59
2. The One We Already Have	17
3. Strong and Able Army	8
4. Army That Would Always Be Ready	6
5. Efficient Army	4
6. Army With More Mature Soldiers	4
7. Disciplined Army	2
Total	100
Slovenia:	
1. Cheaper and Smaller Army	27
2. The One We Already Have	12
3. Depoliticized Army	10
4. We Do Not Need an Army	6
5. More Modern Army	6
6. Army The Would Always Be Ready	6
7. Republican Armies	5
8. Something Else	22
9. Do Not Know	6
Total	100
Croatia:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Army	43
2. The One We Already Have	25
3. Depoliticized Army	12
4. Strong and Stable Army	7
5. Professional Army	4
6. Something Else	7
7. Do Not Know	2
Total	100
Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. The One We Already Have	38
2. Unified Yugoslav Army	26
3. Professional Army	8
4. Depoliticized Army	8
5. Civilian Army	4
6. Army With Shorter Service	4
7. Something Else	6
8. Do Not Know	6
Total	100

Table 2. "What kind of police does Yugoslavia need?" (figures expressed in percentages)

Slovenia: (figures as published)	
1. Loyal Police, Police That Would Protect Law and Citizens	22
2. Uncorrupted Police	22
3. Cheaper and Smaller	13
4. Modern	8
5. Depoliticized	6
6. Professional and Republican	6
7. We Do Not Need It	5
8. The One We Already Have	5
9. Do Not Know	16
Total	100
Croatia:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Police	33
2. Depoliticized	19

3. Professional	16
4. The One We Already Have	12
5. Young and Strong	5
6. Civilian	6
7. Republican	3
8. Something Else	3
9. Do Not Know	3
Total	100
Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. The One We Already Have	48
2. Unified Yugoslav Police	19
3. Depoliticized	10
4. Loyal Police, Police That Would Protect Law and Citizens	6
5. Modern	6
6. Professional	3
7. Sensible and Humane	3
8. Do Not Know	5
Total	100
Montenegro: (figures as published)	
1. Unified Yugoslav Police	36
2. Loyal Police, Police That Would Protect Law and Citizens	20
3. Well-Organized	13
4. The One We Already Have	9
5. Depoliticized	9
6. Modern	5
7. Stricter	3
8. Something Else	4
Serbia: (figures as published)	
1. Unified Yugoslav Police	32
2. Professional	12
3. Modern	12
4. Republican	10
5. Depoliticized	8
6. Smaller	2
7. The One We Already Have	2
8. Do Not Know	1
9. Do Not Know (as published)	20
Total	100
Macedonia: (figures as published)	
1. Unified Yugoslav Police	45
2. Well-Preserved	19
3. Incorruptible	8
4. The One We Already Have	6
5. Loyal Police, Police That Would Protect Law and Citizens	6
6. Independent	4
7. Independent (as published)	11
Total	100

Table 3. "What kind of army and police does Yugoslavia need?" (figures in percentages)

SFRY:	
Army:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Army	36
2. The One We Already Have	15
3. Cheap, Smaller and Shorter	10
4. Apolitical	8
5. Well-Organized	7
6. Professional	5
7. Always Ready	4
8. Something Else	11
9. Do Not Know	4
Total	100
Police:	
1. Unified Yugoslav Police	30
2. The One We Already Have	15
3. Loyal Police, Police That Would Protect Law and Citizens	13
4. Apolitical	10
5. Modern and Well-Organized	10
6. Professional	6
7. Incorruptible	4
8. Something Else	8
9. Do Not Know	4
Total	100

Table 4. "Have the current tempestuous changes brought into question the external and internal security of the country?" (a bar chart with figures in percentages)

	Yes	No	Something Else	Do Not Know
Slovenia	12	76	6	6
Croatia	24	58	12	6
Bosnia-Hercegovina	38	42	12	8
Montenegro	40	24	16	20
Serbia	80	2	12	6
Macedonia	34	36	4	22 (as published)
SFRY	38	40	11	11